

THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LXV

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE

The first part of this volume continues our publication of theological texts from volume LXIV (**4401-4** and **4406** are now assigned the numbers p101-5). The major part of this section comprises four new papyri of St. John's Gospel (**4445-8**) edited by Dr. W. E. H. Cockle: all codices, all assignable to the third century AD and therefore among the earliest surviving witnesses to the text.

In Part II Professor Haslam edits a group of fragmentary and challenging commentary texts, recognisably on Homer and Herodotus. Two geographical texts were originally edited by the late David Hughes as part of a doctoral thesis supervised by Sir Eric Turner; one of these comes from Strabo, an author rarely represented by papyri. The further very fragmentary literary pieces presented by Professor West in Part III represent the largest group of texts with musical notation ever to be published at one time.

Part IV is devoted to magic, astrology and related matters. Professor Maltomini has edited the extensive and extraordinarily complex two-sided magical text **4468**, while Professor Jones follows his work on our astronomical papyri (LXI **4133-4300**) with seven astrological pieces concerned with omens and the like, **4473** in a striking hand and **4477** a substantial part of a vast (16-column?) tabulated horoscope from the fifth century.

Part V brings together sixteen assorted documents that relate especially to the state's control of the individual (registrations of birth and death for example) and to our growing knowledge of the prosopography of central and local government officials. Notable for its contributions to matters of diplomatic and law is the extensive petition **4481**, edited by Professor Thomas. A number of the texts in this section derive from the doctoral theses of N. Litinas, D. Montserrat and J. Spooner, written at University College London under the supervision of Professor Machler.

The literary indexes have been compiled by Haslam, West, Maltomini and Jones; Coles has prepared the documentary index and co-ordinated the whole.

We are again grateful to the Rev. Dr. David Parker for his advice on the New Testament texts **4445-9**.

With this volume we are more than usually indebted to the staff of The Charlesworth Group; their skill especially in handling the problems set by the musical texts **4461-7**, awkward even by the standards of our awkward material, enormously simplified the volume's preparation.

January, 1998

R. A. COLES
P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
J. D. THOMAS
General Editors

CONTENTS

PREFACE	v
TABLE OF PAPYRI	ix
LIST OF PLATES	xi
NUMBERS AND PLATES	xi
NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS	xii

TEXTS

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS (4442-4449)	i
II. LITERARY TEXTS (4450-4460)	26
III. TEXTS WITH MUSICAL NOTATION (4461-4467)	81
IV. MAGIC, RELIGION AND ASTROLOGY (4468-4477)	103
V. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS (4478-4493)	152

INDEXES

I. LITERARY TEXTS	194
II. MAGIC, RELIGION AND ASTROLOGY	199
III. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS	204
IV. CONSULS	204
V. MONTHS	204
VI. DATES	205
VII. PERSONAL NAMES	205
VIII. GEOGRAPHICAL	207
(a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, TOPARCHIES, CITIES, ETC.	207
(b) VILLAGES, ETC.	207
(c) MISCELLANEOUS	207
IX. RELIGION	207
X. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES	207
XI. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS	208
XII. MEASURES	208
(a) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES	208
(b) MONEY	208
XIII. TAXES	208
XIV. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS	208
XV. CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED TEXTS	212

TABLE OF PAPYRI

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

4442	LXX, Exodus xx 10-17, 18-22	DC	Early third century	1
4443	LXX, Esther Er16-9.3	KL	Late first/early second century	4
4444	LXX, Sapientia Salomonis iv 17-v 1	IAS/RAC	Fourth century	8
4445	NT Gospel of John i 29-35, 40-46	WEHC	Third century	10
4446	NT Gospel of John xvii 1-2, 11	WEHC	Third century	14
4447	NT Gospel of John xvii 23-24, xviii 1-5	WEHC	Third century	16
4448	NT Gospel of John xxi 18-20, 23-25	WEHC	Third century	19
4449	NT Epistle of James iii 13-iv 4, iv 9-v 1	RH	Third/fourth century	20

II. LITERARY TEXTS

4450	Lyric verse	MWH	Third century	26
4451	Commentary on <i>Iliad</i> i	MWH	First century BC	27
4452	Commentary on <i>Iliad</i> xix	MWH	Second century	29
4453	Commentary on the <i>Odyssey</i>	MWH	First century	45
4454	Commentary on Anacreon?	MWH	Second century	50
4455	Commentary on Herodotus, Bk. v	MWH	Third century	55
4456	Commentary?	MWH	Second century	59
4457	Notes on scholarship	MWH	Third century	61
4458	Geography	DH	Third century	66
4459	Strabo, <i>Geographica</i> ii 5.20-24	DH	Late second/third century	71
4460	Mythological compendium?	TS	Early third century?	75

III. TEXTS WITH MUSICAL NOTATION

4461	Excerpts with musical notation	MLW	Second century	83
4462	Fragments with musical notation	MLW	Second century	86
4463	Text with musical notation	MLW	Second/third century	89
4464	Excerpts with musical notation	MLW	Second/third century	93
4465	Excerpts with musical notation	MLW	Second/third century	95
4466	Text with musical notation	MLW	Third/fourth century	98
4467	Excerpts with musical notation	MLW	Third century	99

IV. MAGIC, RELIGION AND ASTROLOGY

4468	Magic	FM	Late first century	103
4469	Letter of Abgar to Jesus (amulet)	FM	Fifth century	122
4470	Oracular question	DM	Second/third century	129
4471	Omens from the rising of Sirius	AJ	Late second/early third century	130
4472	Astrological forecasts	AJ	Second century	133
4473	Astrological forecasts of the rise of the Nile	AJ	Second/third century	136
4474	On the Egyptian Year	AJ	Late second/early third century	140
4475	General astrology	AJ	Second century	142
4476	On the Qualities of the Zodiacal Signs	AJ	Late second/early third century	143
4477	Horoscope in tabular form, AD 430	AJ	After 430	146

V. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

4478	Notification of death	DM	15 December 74	152
4479	Notification of death	JS	29 January 179	154
4480	Notification of death	DM	26 February 311	156
4481	Authenticated copy of a petition to the prefect	JDT	11-26 March 179	159
4482	Reports of receipts of requisitioned wheat	RAC	February 182	169
4483	Letter of Elis to Carpus	AJ/PS	194	174
4484	Petition to the prefect	RAC	April-May 197	175
4485	Order to arrest	JS	Second century	176
4486	Orders to arrest	DM	Late second/mid-third century	178
4487	Declarations of surety	RAC	Third century	179
4488	Declaration of uninundated land	RAC	c. 244/5	181
4489	Application to register a child	JLCM	5 August 297	182
4490	Receipt for ἐπικεφάλαιον πάλειος	NL	22 (?) July 299	185
4491	Sworn declaration	NL	9 May 307	187
4492	Petition of a dike supervisor	RAC	c. 311/2	189
4493	Letter to Thaeis	US/JDT	Fourth century	191

JLCM=J. L. Calvo Martínez
 WEHC=W. E. H. Cockle
 RAC=R. A. Coles
 DC=D. Colomo
 MWH=M. W. Haslam
 RH=R. Hübner
 DH=D. Hughes

AJ=A. Jones
 NL=N. Lütinas
 KL=K. Luchner
 FM=F. Maltomini
 DM=D. Montserrat
 US=U. Schlag
 TS=T. Schmidt

PS=P. Schubert
 IAS=I. A. Sparks
 JS=J. Spooner
 JDT=J. D. Thomas
 MLW=M. L. West

LIST OF PLATES

I. 4443 part	XI. 4457, 4460
II. 4442, 4444, 4449	XII. 4461-2
III. 4442, 4444, 4449	XIII. 4463-5
IV. 4445-8	XIV. 4466-7, 4469
V. 4445-8	XV. 4468
VI. 4450, 4453	XVI. 4468
VII. 4451, 4456, 4458	XVII. 4473 part
VIII. 4452	XVIII. 4477
IX. 4454-5	XIX. 4481
X. 4459	XX. 4470, 4483, 4485

NUMBERS AND PLATES

4442	II, III	4459	X
4443 part	I	4460	XI
4444	II, III	4461	XII
4445	IV, V	4462	XII
4446	IV, V	4463	XIII
4447	IV, V	4464	XIII
4448	IV, V	4465	XIII
4449	II, III	4466	XIV
4450	VI	4467	XIV
4451	VII	4468	XV, XVI
4452	VIII	4469	XIV
4453	VI	4470	XX
4454	IX	4473 part	XVII
4455	IX	4477	XVIII
4456	VII	4481	XIX
4457	XI	4483	XX
4458	VII	4485	XX

NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262-9. It may be summarized as follows:

$a\beta\gamma$	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[$a\beta\gamma$]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
()	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. ($\delta\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\beta\eta$) represents the symbol \dashv , $\epsilon\tau\rho(\alpha\tau\eta\eta\acute{o}\varsigma)$ represents the abbreviation $\epsilon\tau\rho\varsigma$
[[$a\beta\gamma$]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
$\overset{\sim}{a\beta\gamma}$	The letters are added above the line
$\langle a\beta\gamma \rangle$	The letters are added by the editor
{ $a\beta\gamma$ }	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Heavy arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 4th edition (*BASP* Suppl. No. 7, 1992). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

I. THEOLOGICAL TEXTS

4442. LXX, EXODUS 20.10-17, 18-22

102/11(b)

5.7 × 15.5 cm

Early third century

Fragment from the upper outer corner of a leaf of a papyrus codex with the remains of twenty lines on each side; less than a half of the original line length has been preserved for the first fifteen and only a few characters from the last five. Seven lines have been lost at the foot; the leaf would have contained 27 lines each side, with an average 22 letters per line. If we calculate from the useful word count in the TLG *Canon*, Exodus would have required around 195 pages, on the basis of one column per page and a normal text.

The calculated written area would be 9 × 18.7 cm. Given that the outer side margin was at least 2 cm wide and assuming a minimum width of 1 cm for the lost inner side margin, the resulting leaf width (if single column) would be at least 12 cm. Damage to the upper margin and loss of the lower one prevents our calculating the height.

There are no accents, breathings or iota adscript. Diaeresis occurs in →6 and 19. A dicolon and blank space coincide with the paragraph end (verse 21) in →16. The *nomen sacrum* $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma = \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ occurs in →11 and 16, and we restore it and $\bar{\kappa}\epsilon = \kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$ elsewhere.

Written in a good-sized formal majuscule, upright and basically bilinear, apart from a number of letters— ι , ν , φ —whose upright tends to protrude below the baseline. The script is a hybrid, broadly resembling the Biblical majuscule style but with details influenced by the severe style. There are some parallels with the more sloping III 406 (Pl. I), discussed by G. Cavallo, *Ricerche* pp. 29-30: here the balance is reversed, i.e. 406 is rather a severe style with Biblical majuscule influence. As a good quality manuscript, 4442 reveals a competent, professional scribe, who attempts to keep an even right edge to the column by reducing the size of letters towards the end of the line, while he tends to enlarge the characters at the beginning of the line (see in particular →4 ζ, 11 ν, 12 φ and 18 α), perhaps following a tendency typical of early Christian papyri as borrowing from a documentary practice; cf. *GMAW*², 7 and C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London, 1979), 16 (who mentions P Chester Beatty VI, a codex containing *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*, assigned to the late second or early third century by Hunt).

4442 is the only papyrological witness of this section of LXX, Exodus. The text, collated with the edition of J. W. Wevers (Göttingen, 1991), agrees mainly with the text transmitted by the majority of witnesses. The most relevant feature is the agreement with B and a few others in ↓15-16 in preserving a different order of the Commandments, rather than following (as do most of our OT MSS) the ordering found in the NT. In addition to that, the papyrus shares with B and a few other witnesses another variant in →8.

↓
[top?]

	παν κτηνη[ος]	20:10
	[ου και ο προσηλ]υτος ο παροι	
	[κων εν κοι εν γαρ] εξ ημεραις	20:11
	[εποιησεν κ̄τ̄ το]ν ουρανον	
5	[και την γην κα]ι την θα	
	[λασσαν και παντ]α τα εν αυ	
	[τοις και κατεπα]υσεν τη ημε	
	[ρα τη εβδομη δ]ια τουτο ευλο	
	[γησεν κ̄τ̄ την η]μεραν την	
10	[εβδομην και ηγι]ασεν αυτην	
	[τιμα τον πατε]ρα σου και την	20:12
	[μητερα σου ινα ευ] κοι γενη	
	[ται και ινα μα]κροχροnios	
	[γενη επι της γ]ης της αγαθη[ς]	
15	[ης κ̄τ̄ ο θ̄ς σου διδω]σι κοι ου μοι	20:13
	[χ̄ενσεις ου κλεψ]εις ου φονευ	20:14-15
	[σεις ου ψευδομαρτυρη]σεις	20:16
	[κατα του πλησιον σου] μαρτυ	
	[ριαν ψευδη ουκ επιθ]υ[μ]η	20:17
20	[σεις την γυναικα του] πλη	

→
[top?]

	[ο] λαος εωρ[α την φωνη και]	20:18
	τας λαμπ[αδας και την φωνην]	
	της καλπ[υγος και το ορος καπνι]	
	ζον φοβη[θεντες δε πας ο λαος]	
5	εστησαν μ[ακροθεν και ειπαν]	20:19
	προς μωϋ[σεν] λαλησον συ ημιν]	
	και μη λα[λειτω προς ημας ο θ̄ς]	
	μη αποθα[νωμας και λεγει]	20:20
	αυτοις μωϋ[σες] θαρσειτε ενε]	

10	κεν του πε[ιρασαι υμας παρεγε]	
	νηθη ο θ̄ς ο[πως αν γενηται ο]	
	φοβος αυτ[ου εν υμιν ινα μη]	
	αμαρτ[α]ν[ητε ειστηκει δε]	20:21
	ο λαος μακρ[οθεν μωυσης δε εις]	
15	ηλθεν εις τ[ον γνωφον ου ην ο]	
	θ̄ς: ειπεν [δε κ̄τ̄ προς μωυσην]	20:22
	ταδε [ερεις τω οικω ιακωβ και]	
	αν[αγγελεις τοις υιοις ισραηλ]	
	υμε[ις] εωρακατε οτι εκ του ουρ]	
20	α[νου]	

↓

¹² Line length indicates that 4442 contained repeated *ου* after *μητερα*, as the Massoretic Text, cf. Deut. 5:16. This feature affects also the two quotations of this passage in the New Testament: Mark 7:10, where the pronoun is repeated in the majority of the witnesses (while in 10:19 its repetition represents a variant) and Luke 18:20, where its repetition represents a variant.

¹⁵ The printed supplement is long for the space. Perhaps we have a reduced form of κ̄τ̄ ο θ̄ς, or the omission of *ου* (with 82 131 106-107¹ 343 509 799 Did Ps 197.31 (but it is in 73) Aeth^{-C} Arm⁶).

¹⁵⁻¹⁷ The order of the Commandments οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ φονεύσεις is in agreement with B 82 f 120' Sa, and the order usually accepted by editors. From the textual point of view this order has very little support. See J. W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Exodus*, *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens* xxi (Göttingen, 1992), 171. The tradition presents various word-orders, evaluation of which requires an accurate examination of the textual tradition of the other places where such a fundamental passage is quoted, both in the LXX and the New Testament:

1) C¹-422 125¹²⁷ 30' x have the order οὐ μοιχεύσεις οὐ φονεύσεις οὐ κλέψεις, which is the order occurring in Deut. 5:17-19, followed by Luke 18:20, Rom 13:9, Philo, *De decalogo* 51 (cf. 121).

2) 84 (a minuscule manuscript) has the order οὐ φονεύσεις οὐ κλέψεις οὐ μοιχεύσεις.

3) 799 (a minuscule manuscript considered by Wevers, *op. cit.*, 171, 'a wayward and idiosyncratic text') has the order οὐ κλέψεις οὐ φονεύσεις οὐ μοιχεύσεις.

4) Finally, the order οὐ φονεύσεις οὐ μοιχεύσεις οὐ κλέψεις is that of 9R (the Massoretic Text) followed by the rest of the tradition, including the Codex Alexandrinus, and found in Matth 19:18 and Mark 10:19. It was probably the order accepted by Origen.

Taking into consideration the date to which it should be assigned, the papyrus provides strong evidence in favour of B's order. Was this the original order? As Wevers, *op. cit.*, p. 171 points out, the B text cannot easily be explained as the product of textual revision.

→

5 *εστησαν: εστησεν* 55* 59, *εστη* O⁻⁷²-15-707 Arm Aeth^{-P}.

6 *μωϋ[σεν]: μωσεν* 15 551 n, *μωση* 72 610, *μωσ* 107. Cf. →gn. The form *ου* is the original Greek transcription from Hebrew, while the form *ω* is the Alexandrian transcription (W. Bauer, *Wörterbuch* (1988) 1076; F. Blass-A. Debrunner-F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik* (1979) 31).

8 *μη:* so B 72 Phil II 32 III 5^{pp} 235^{pp}. *μήποτε* Rahlfs, Wevers; *μητε* 424; *ινα μη* oI^{-64ms}-707 C^o bn Cyr II 1201 III 1169 V 364 VII 688 (but *μήποτε* in IV 600 VIII 685 X 755) Eus VI 429 Th II 648 (but *μήποτε* in Compl).

9 *αυταις*: *papulo* Arab = 𐤀𐤋, transposed after *Μουσε* by O-15 Bo Syh = 𐤀𐤋.
 μωυ[ς]: diacresis was probably present, but no trace survives. *μωυς* B O⁻³⁷⁶-15 126 n (but *μουσε* in Sixt). Cf. →6 n.

10 *γὰρ* after *ενεκεν* om. with F*(c pr m) Cⁿ 318 646 Clem I 129 Aeth Bo^B.

11 Since the last preserved trace is not π[, the papyrus must have omitted the MSS' *πρὸς ὁμάς*.

16 The colon is so faded, compared with the rest of the script, that it may have been added by a second hand into the existing blank space.

D. COLOMO

4443. LXX, ESTHER E16-9,3

44 5B.62/F(1)

16.9 × 30.2 cm

Late first or early second century

The papyrus preserves parts of three columns written along the fibres: the right two thirds of the first (E16-23), the second complete (E23-24; 8.13-8.17) and scanty remains from the line beginnings of the third (9.2-3). The generous upper (4.5 cm) and lower (5.5 cm) margins may be complete; in any case, this was a luxurious copy. The columns have 31 lines (height 20 cm) with an average 25 letters (width 7 cm, plus 0.5 cm for projecting letters at paragraphs). The intercolumnium is approximately 2 cm. The back is blank.

This is the first known copy of a passage from Esther in roll-form, a rare format for biblical texts, probably indicating Jewish provenance (C. H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *Birth of the Codex* 38-40). It is also the first papyrus to preserve this passage. P. Chester Beatty IX (Rahlfs 967, Van Haelst 315) breaks off at Est. 8.6 and P. Palau Rib. inv. 163 (S. Daris, *Aegyptus* 66 (1986) 106-7) presents Est. 4.4-5, 8-11. The text generally follows *o'* and agrees rarely with *L* (i 2, 6, 7, 31; thus in the apocryphal parts). Cols. i 1-ii 14 which present the end of the fifth of the so-called 'Additions' to Esther (i.e. the edict of Artaxerxes beginning after Est. 8.12) are full of variants, additions and omissions, not all to be found in the MSS-tradition.

There are no diacritical signs or punctuation, apart from some paragraphi (with short lines preceding them, and projecting enlarged letters at the beginning of the following line), and projecting enlarged letters at the beginning of the following line), and diaeresis above *ι* (ii 24, 31; iii 6, 24) and *υ* (i 6, ii 16). Words are occasionally separated. There are occasional space fillers at the line ends, and the centre bar of *ε* is frequently extended for the same purpose. Iota adscript is generally used (ii 10 the only exception); four examples are irrational (ii 25, 27, 28, 29). Itacism occurs in i 2, 18, 19.

The script is fluent and broadly bilinear, but with its frequent ligatures, cursive forms, enlarged initial letters and tall risers/deep descenders (*ρ*, *φ*, sometimes *ι*) it perhaps owes more to official documentary styles than to bookhands. For the general appearance cf. the earlier Roberts *GLH* 9a (between 7-4 BC).

Collated with *Septuaginta, Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Göttingensis editum, vol. VIII 3, Esther*, ed. R. Hanhart, Göttingen 1966.

Col. i

[νῆϊστου] και μεγιστου ζωντος 7 (E16)

[θεου του] κατευθυναντος ημεν

[τε και τοι]ς προγονοις ημων την

[βασιλειαν] καθαπερ προαιρουμεθα

[καλως ου]ν ποιησετε μη προς

[χρησαμε]νοι τοις ὑπο αμιν απο

[σταλεισιν γ]ραμμασι δια το και αυτον

[τον ταυτ]α παρα[ν]ομως εξ[ε]ργα

[σαμενον] εξαυρωσθαι προς ταις

[... σου]ων πυλαις συν π[α]νοι

[και την] καταξ[ια]ν του τα παντα

[επικρατο]ντος θεου δια ταχους

[αποδοντ]ος αυτωι την [α]παλειαν

[το αντιγρ]αφον της επισ[το]λης

[ταυτης] εχθ[εν]τες εν παν[τι τ]ο

[πωι μετα] παρρη[ς]ιας ε[α]ν τ[ου]ς ιο]ν

[δαιους χρ]ησθαι τοις εαντ[ων νο]

[μιμοις κ]αι συνεπεισχηει[ν] αυτοις

[οπως τους] εν κα[ι]ρωι θλειψε[ω]ς

[επιθεμε]νους αυτω[ι]ς αμ[υνωντ]αι

[... τ]ου δω[δε]κατου [μηνου]

[... αδ]αρ τη[ι] αυτηι ημ[ε]ραι τα]ν

[την γαρ ο τα] παντα δυναστε[ω]ν

[θεος αντ ολ]εθρειας του εκ[λε]κ-

[του γενου]ς ε[π]ο[ι]ησεν αυτοις εν

[φροσυνη]ν και υμεις εν ταις [επ]ω

[νυμοις ε]πισχημον ημεραν με

[τα πασης ε]νωχι[α]ς αγετε και -

[νυν και με]τα ταυτα σωτηρ[ι]αν μεν

[των ευνοο]ντων τοις περσαις-

[των δε τουτ]οις ε[π]ιβουλευσαντων

5

(17)

10

(18)

15

(19)

20

(20)

25

(21)

30

(22)

(23)

Col. ii

μνημοσυνη της απωλειας
 πασα δε πολις η χωρα το κυνολον
 ητις κατα ταυτα μη ποιησει δο
 ρατι και πυρι καταναλωθεισα με
 5 τ οργης ου μονον ανθρωποις αβα
 τος αλλα και θηριοις και πετεινοις
 εις τ[ο]ν απαντα χρονον αιχιστος
 κατασταθησεται

(E.24)

τα δε αντιγραφα εχθειναι οφθαλμο
 10 φανως εν παση τη βασιλεια ε
 το[ι]μους δε ειναι παντας τους
 ιο[υ]δαιους εις ταυτην την ημε
 ραν πολεμησαι αυτων τους υπε
 ναντιους

(8.13)

15 οι μεν ουν ιππεις εξηλθον σπευ
 δοντες τα υπο του βασιλεως λεγο
 μενα επιτελειν εξετεθη δε
 το εχθεμα [κα]ι εν σουσις ο δε
 μαρδοχαιος εξηλθεν εστο

(14)

20 λιςμενος την βασιλικην [c]το
 λην και στεφανον εχων χρυ
 σουν και διαδημα βυσσιων
 πορφυρου[ν] ι]δοντες δε οι εν

(15)

25 ζουσις εχαρησαν τοις δε ιουδαι

(16)

ο[ι]ς [εγε]γετο φως κα[ι] ε[ν]φροσυνη
 30 κατα π[ο]λιν και χω[ρα]ν ου αν ε
 ξετεθη το εχθεμα χαρα και
 ευφροσυνη τοις ιουδαιοις κω
 θων και ευφροσυνη και πολλοι
 των εθνων περιετειμ[ο]ντο
 και ιουδαιζον δια τον φοβον των ι

(17)

Col. iii

(lines 1-5 lost)

ιου[δαιοις ουδεις γαρ αντεστη φο
 βο[υ]μενος αυτους

(9.2)

οι [γαρ αρχοντες των σατραπων
 και οι τυραννοι και οι βασιλικοι

(9.3)

10 γρα[μματαις ετιμων τους ιου
 δ[αιους]

(Occasional traces below, see col. iii 11 n.)

Col. i

1 υψιστου] και μεγατου ζωντος: οντας δε υιους του υψιστου μεγατου ζωντος θεου ο'. και between the two
 adjectives is not supported by the MSS tradition.

2 κατευθυναντος ημιν: κατευθυναντος ημιν a^{-106'}=L; κατευθυναντος ημιν ο'=319; κατευθυναντας ημας S*.

3 Space allows inclusion of τε with ο'; om. τε 106.

4 βασιλειαν] καθαπερ προαιρουμεθα: a unique and radically different reading. βασιλειαν εν τη καλλιστη
 διαθεσει ο'; βασιλειαν μεχρι του νυν εν τ. κ. δ. L. βασιλειαν: αγιαν S*. Neither καθαπερ nor any form of προαιρειν,
 though not uncommon in LXX (in similar context cf. e.g. III Ma. 7.2.), occurs anywhere else in Esther. The
 expression ('as it is our deliberate choice') may imitate the formulaic language of edicts, cf. Bauer, *Wörterbuch*,
 s.v. προαιρέω 2.

5-6 In lacuna: προσχρησαμενοι ο'; προσχρησαμενοι 93; προχρησαμενοι 55*; προχρησαμενοι 542.

6 αμαν with 71 La^{KMX} Atm=L; αμαν αμαδαθου ο'; αμαν αμαθαδου A 76-236-762 46-248. For the same
 difficulties cf. Est. A17.

7 δια το και αυτων with L; om. και ο'.

8 παρα[ι]ομως: om. ceteri. παράνομος (whether as adjective or in adverbial form) does not occur elsewhere
 in Esther.

8-9 εξεργασαμενον ο'; εξεργασαμενον (εξηγγ.*) 311; εργασαμενον 583=L. Space would also allow the
 reading of 311, but the syllabification makes ο' more probable.

9-10 εσταυρωσθαι προς ταις [... σους]ων πυλαις: προς ταις σουσιων πυλαις εσταυρωσθαι ο'=L. In 10 σου
 is obviously too short to fill the space at the beginning of the line. The MSS offer an alternative τούτων for
 σουσαν (236), but do not suggest any longer reading or additional word; it is hard to imagine here anything
 else than a miswriting or just the article, thus των σουσιων (for the insertion of the article—but followed by a
 reading not represented by the tradition—see also 113).

10-11 εν π[α]ροι[κ]ιαι: so V. εν τη πανοικια ο'; παροικια 76.

13 αποδοντ]ος αυτωι την [α]πωλειαν: αποδοντος αυτωι κρισιν ο'. [α]πωλειαν is not represented by the
 MSS-trad. nor is the combination αποδιδόναι τινη απολειαν common.

14 το αντιγραφον: το δε αντιγραφον ο'. The latter seems long for the space, but cannot be excluded.

15 εχθ] (for εκθ-): cf. ii 9, 18, 27. See F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I, p. 89; E. Maysers-H. Schmolli, *Grammatik*
 I.I (1970), 156. 11f.

17-18 In lacuna: νομμοις BVa 55 108 318 392 542; νομοις rel Ios XI 281=L (cf. Est. 8.11).

20 αυτο[ι]ς: αυτοις ο'; αυτοις 74 381. αμ[ι]νων]ται: ο'=L; αμινασθαι V; αμινανται 314*.

21 την τρισκαδεκατην before του δωδεκατου μηνος ο'; τη τριτη και δεκατη 583; την τεσσαρεσκαδεκατην L
 (=La⁻; but the context of L as a whole is different). δωδεκατου: δεκατον 583; om. a=L. None of these forms
 will fit the papyrus. Did it read τηι εγ-?

22 ος εστιν αδ]αρ with L?

26 ημεις εν: ημεις ουν εν ο'.

26-27 [επ]ω[ν]ιμοις ε[πι]σημον ημεραν with A: επωνιμοις ημων εορταις επισημον ημεραν ο'; επωνιμοις 120;
 ημερας S*.

28 ἀγέτε και: ἀγέτε πως και ο'. See note on 29 ff. The different syntactical structure of our version makes πως superfluous.

29 ff. σωτηρ[ι]αν μεν [των ενουο]υτων τοις περσιαι [των δε τουτ]οις ε[πι]βουλευσαντων μνημοσυνη; σωτηρια μεν (+μων και Α 583) των ενουοντων τοις (ταις 93) περσαι των δε τουτοις επιβουλευσαντων (-λευοντων 583) μνημοσυνην Α 583 La^{KM} (sinn), σωτηρια ημ ημν και τοις ενουουσι περσαι τοις δε ημν επιβουλευουσι μνημοσυνην ο'. (οιη. και 52.) των δε επιβουλευσαντων μνημοσυνην L. επιβουλευσαι μνημοσυνας 108.

Col. ii

1 μνημοσυνην; see note on i 29 ff.

4 καταναλωθεισαι: καταναλωθησεται ο' = L.

7 αυχιςτος O-S^c (εσχ; εχιστος*)-A cf. La^{KMX} (abominabili); εχθιστος ο'; om. L.

8 After this line a short paragraph marks the beginning of the postscript of the edict.

9 εχθειναι (l. εκθειναι); εκτιθεσθωσαν ο'; εκτιθεσθω (εκτεθεισθω Α) S O-A'.

10 βασιλεια without expected ι adscript.

11 δε with Α; τε ο'.

14 After this line another short paragraph marks the end of the edict.

18 εχθεμα (l. εκθεμα); εκθεμα Α and O=ℳ (το δε εκθεμα εξεθεθη; προσταγμα ο'.

25 ε[υ]φοσυνη; with irrational ι here and in ii 28, 29. Similarly εξεθεθη in 27.

26 4443 omits οὐ ἀν εξεθεθη τὸ προσταγμα as do A' V 74^b.

27 l. εκθεμα.

30 περιεμεν[ο]υτο: περιεμενοντο B S* V b⁻³⁸¹ 55 108 392.

Col. iii

6-7 4443 provides no support for the extensive additions supplied at this point by various MSS.

8 Above οι, too much abrasion to decide if there had been a paragraph.

11 Below this line there are occasional traces of line beginnings down nearly to the foot of the column.

The traces nowhere extend beyond the first letter of the line, and none can be identified except for a probable ι[with η[immediately below it level with ii 24-5.

Below this (level with ii 27 and 29-30) are two traces in ecthesis, which ought to imply paragraph beginnings as elsewhere on the papyrus.

K. LUCHNER

4444. SAPIENTIA SALOMONIS 4.17-5.1

8 1B.199/K(3)a

8.6 × 8.7 cm

Fourth century

This is the first fragment of *Sapientia Salomonis* to come from Oxyrhynchus, and was published by I. A. Sparks, *Journal for the study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman periods* 3 (1972) 149-52. The fragment preserves the bottom outer corner of a leaf from a parchment codex. Judging from the amount of text missing between recto and verso, the original page contained 17 lines, with a single column of text measuring approximately 9 cm high by 7 cm broad. (A single-column format can be inferred only from the fact that a two-column leaf would measure c. 14 cm high by 20 cm broad, contrary to the prevailing vertical format of uncial parchment codices.) The lower margin (c. 2.5 cm) and the outer margin (c. 2 cm) appear more or less intact, so that we might estimate the original leaf size as about 14 cm high by 11 cm broad.

The text is written by *cola*, with each *colon* (except at recto line 6, where we have a double point instead) beginning a principal line and continuing on a line indented

c. 0.7 cm. When the text runs on to a third line, this can be further indented by 0.2-0.5 cm (but not in verso line 8, which is only indented level with the line above it).

The hand is a light and delicate uncial of the so-called 'Biblical' type, with occasional serifs, in a now brownish ink. We may compare the hand of the Psalms text P. Berol. 5011 (G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla manuscola biblica* II pl. 44).

With the exception of the double point in recto line 6, there is no punctuation. There are no accents or breathings. Iota adscript is not used. The *nomen sacrum* κτ occurs twice (recto lines 4, 6).

Collation of 4444 with the Göttingen critical apparatus of J. Ziegler (*Septuaginta* XII.1; 2nd ed., 1980) identifies the new fragment as belonging to the earliest and most reliable strand of the manuscript tradition. Whereas 4444 diverges frequently from most of the witnesses cited by Ziegler, it never disagrees with Codex Vaticanus (B) except at 4.20 where 4444 (verso line 6) has the reading ἐξελέγξει in place of ἐλέγξει.

To Ziegler's list of MSS., pp. 7 ff., add the lost fragment listed by J. Van Haelst, *Cat. des pap. littéraires juifs et chrétiens* no. 278.

Recto (flesh side)

	[και ου νοηο]υσιν τι εβου	4.17
	[λευκ]ατο περι αυτου	
	[και ε]ις τι ησφαλισατο	
	[αυ]τον ο κτ	
5	[οψ]ονται και εξουθενη	4.18
	[co]υσιν: αυτους δε ο κτ	
	εκυελασεται	
	[και ες]οντ[αι μετ]α τουτο	4.19
	[εις πτωμα ατ]μων	
10	[και εις υβριω εν] νεκροις	
	[δι αιωνος]	
	[οτι ρηξει αυτο]υς αφω	
	[υους πρηνηις]	

Verso (hair side)

	και η μν[ημη αυτων α]	
	πολειται	
	ελευκονται εν κυ[λλο]	4.20
	γισμω αμαρτημ[ατων]	

5 αυτων δειλοι
 και εξελεγει αυτου[υς ε]
 ξ εναντιας τα αυ[ο]
 μημη[ατα] αυτων
 10 τοτε ζη[η]σεται εν παρρη] 5.1
 10 ρια π[ο]λλη ο δικαιος]
 κατα [προσωπον των]
 θλιψ[αντων αυτων]

Recto

- 1 ου: +μη 766 νοση[υ]σιν: συννοσηουσιν 155 π: οτι 248.
 1-2 εβου[λευ]σαςτο: Clem. εβουλευσαντο 248-261 46 359 411-754 485 543 706 Aeth Cant.
 2 περι αυτου: Clem. + deus La Sy.
 3 ηραλιεατο: ηραλιεα S.
 5 [οψ]ονται: + αυτων S* verss.P; + τον δικαιον Dam. p. 1364 Anton. p. 1100; + γαρ S^c 613 La^{pl}; pr. et Sy.
 5-6 εξουθεν[ε]σιν: + αυτους S*: dittogr.; + αυτων O-V 637 a 766 La^v verss. Cant.^{lem}.
 6 αυτου: αυτος 249 359 766; >547 δε ο tr. 547; om. ο Anton.
 8 ες]οντ[αι]: εσται 766; οψονται 443.
 10 εις: om. La^{ms} εν: om. l 155 534 Lucif.
 11 δε: om. A.
 12 ρηξει: ρηξει 755; ρηξει 766 αυτου: om. 534 Sy^{pp}.
 12-13 αφω[ι]νον: αφω Osiander (acc. to Schleusner I 426).
 13 πρηρει: seratis (= πρινει? A and others; = πριτους Heinisch) Sy; inflatos La Aeth Arm.

Verso

- 3 ελευονται: εισελευονται a Cant.^{lem}
 3-4 ευ[λλο]γισμω: συλλογισμοις 46; λογισμω l
 5 αυτων: om. 534 Cant.^{ms} δειλοι: δηλοι S^c c and others; dolus (= δολοι Ho. p. 34.102.123) Sy
 6 εξελεγει: ελεγει B
 7 τα: om. l
 7-8 αυ[ο]μημη[ατα]: νοσηματα 155; διανοσηματα Dam. p. 92; αμαρτηματα 543
 9-10 ζη[η]σεται εν παρρη]ρεια π[ο]λλη ο δικαιος: the MSS. attest different word orders in this passage. Chr.
 III 684 transposes ζη[η]σεται to after πολλη παρρη]α (the latter an inversion); ο δικαιος is transposed to before
 παρρη]α πολλη in V 766 La verss.^p Ps. Hipp. Dam. p. 1364; La converts subject and verb to the plural.
 12 θλιψ[αντων]: θλιβοντων 547 αυτου: αυτους Cant.^{lem}; > Ps. Hipp.

I. A. SPARKS
 R. A. COLES

4445-4448. NEW TESTAMENT: GOSPEL OF JOHN

The following four fragments bring the total of published papyri of St John's Gospel up to 27. The 23 papyri previously known have been republished and recollated in W. J. Elliott and D. C. Parker, *The New Testament in Greek IV: The Gospel according to St John, Vol. I: The Papyri* (=NTTS XX; Leiden, 1995). The supplements in the transcrip-

tions given below are from the 27th edition of Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart, 1993). Any exceptions are indicated in the apparatus criticus, which is based on this edition with occasional further information from Tischendorf, *editio octava critica maior*. In addition Elliott-Parker has been used for the papyri and A. Jülicher, *Itala: Das Neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung IV* (1963), for the Old Latin. Symbols used for citing manuscripts follow the practice of Nestle-Aland²⁷.

4445. JOHN i 29-35; 40-46

A 6153-4

8.8 × 13 cm

Third century

This stained fragment of a leaf from a papyrus codex contains the upper part of pages 3 and 4. The page numbers gamma and delta stand in the middle of the upper margin. Like P. Bodmer II = P⁶⁶, this copy of St John's Gospel was also the first item in the codex or stood by itself. 4445 has been assigned the number P¹⁰⁶.

The text is written in a carbon ink with a narrow pen in an upright, plain script, which bears some resemblance to C. H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands*, 20c (P. Ryl. III 463, *Gospel of Mary*), assigned to the mid third century, and 20b (VIII 1100) of AD 206. Cf. also XXXI 2539 (*Diptych Cretenensis*), which is datable to the second/third century; this is written in a similar, slightly smaller, more cramped hand on which its editor (Barns) commented 'it would not be out of place in the more formal kind of document, such as a lease'. The same can be said of 4445, which may be assigned to the third century, more probably the first half. The letters are largely bilinear and 3 mm high. Beta, phi and psi all extend above and below the line. Delta sometimes has a heavy leftward curl at the top of the right-hand diagonal; mu, xi, ypsilon and omega are each written in a single movement without lifting the pen. Alpha, tau and ypsilon can be ligatured to the following letter.

There is an apostrophe after ιρα]ηλ in J8 (a feature which supports a third-century dating for the text, see E. G. Turner, *GMAW*², 11), and in βηθ'αϊδα (→ 15). Here and occasionally elsewhere tremata are used. The following *nomina sacra* are found: θε, ιηε, π̄να and χ̄ρε; υιου (in both sacral and non-sacral use), ιραηλ and ουρανοσ are not abbreviated. There are no other lectional signs, but initial iota in J2 is enlarged (for this feature see C. H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief*, London 1979, 16-18).

A calculation from the amount of text missing between the bottom of page γ and the top of page δ, if we assume a normal text, shows that there were probably 36 lines to the page. The surviving top margin is 1.5 cm. Twenty-one lines of text occupy a height of c. 11.5 cm, so that the written area of 36 lines would have occupied a height of just under 20 cm. Using Turner's rule of thumb that the lower margins are to the upper margins in a proportion of 3:2 (*The Typology of the Early Codex*, Philadelphia 1977, 25), the lower margin would have been at least c. 2.25 cm. Thus the height of the page would have been at least c. 23.5 cm. The left margin of page δ is 1.3 cm and the width

of the surviving text on page γ occupies *c.* 9 cm. So if the right margin matches that of the left, the width of the page would have been at least 11.6 cm. Since a left margin survives on page δ but there are no surviving margins on page γ , the page is likely to have been up to 1 cm wider than this. This fits reasonably well into Turner's Group 8.

	γ	
	ιδε ο αμνος του $\overline{[\theta\upsilon]}$ ο αιρων την	i. 29
	αμαρτιαν του κ[ο]σμ[ο]υ ο[υ]τ[ο]ς ες	30
	τιν [υ]περ ου εγω ειπο[ν] ο[υ]πιζω μ[ου]	
5	ερχ[ετ]αι ανηρ ος εμπρο[χ]θεν μου	
	γεγο[ν]εν οτι πρω[τ]ος μο[υ] ην καγω	31
	ουκ [η]δειν αυτον [αλλ] ι[ν]α φανερωθη	
	[τω ιερα]ηλ δια το[υ]το εγω ηλθον	
	[εν υδα]τι βαπτιζων και εμαρτυ	32
10	[ρησεν ι]ωαννη[χ] οτι τεθεαμαι	
	το πνα καταβαιν[ο]ν ως περιστε	
	ραν εξ ο[υ]ρανου και εμ[εινε]ν ε[π] [αυ]	33
	τον καγω ουκ ηδειν αυ[το]ν α[λλ]	
	ο πεμ[β]ας με βαπτιζειν [εν τω]	
15	υδατι εκεινος μοι ειπεν [εφ ον]	
	εαν ιδης το π[ν]α καταβα[ι]ων	
	[κ]αι μενον ε[π] αυτον ουτος [εστιν]	
	[ο] βαπτιζων [ε]ν π[ν]ι αγιω [καγω]	34
	εορακα και [με]μαρτυρη[κα οτι]	
20	ουτος εστιν ο [ε]κλεκ[το]ς του θ[υ]	
	τη επαυρι[ον]	35
	δ	
	τ]ων δυο των ακου	i. 40
	[σαντω]ν παρα ιωαννου και η	
	. . . [. . .] αν αυτω ευρισκ[ει] πρω	41
5	το[ν] το[υ]ν αδελφον τον ιδιον [ε]μων[α]	
	και λεγει αυτ[ω] ευρηκα με[ν] τον μ[ε]	
	εσαν ο εστιν [με]θερμηρευ[ο]μενο[υ]	
	χρ[ι]στος ηγαγεν α[υ]τον προς η[ν] εμβλε[ε]	42
	ψας αυτω ο ιη[σ] ειπεν ευ[ε]ριμων ο	

10	υιος ιωαννου [ε]υ κληθη[ε] κηφας	
	ο ερμηνευ[ε]τα]ι πετρος τη επα[υ]	43
	ριον η[θελ]ησεν εξελθειν εις τη[ν] γα[λ]	
	λιλα[ια]ν και ευρισκει φιλιππον κ[αι] λε[ε]	
	[γει αυ]τω ο ιη[σ] ακολουθει μοι ην [δε ο]	44
15	[φιλι]ππος απο βηθ[σα]ιδα εκ τη[χ]	
	[. . .] ανδρου και πετρον ε[ν]	45
	[ρικε]ει φιλιππος τον ναθανα[ηλ και]	
	[λεγ]ει αυτω ον εγραψεν μου[υ]σεν εν	
	[τω νο]μου και οι προφηται ε[νρη]	
20	[καμε]ν ιη[σ] υιο[υ] του ιωσηφ [τον]	
	[απο ναζα]ρεθ και ειπεν αυ[τω]	46
	[ναθαναηλ εκ ναζαρ]εθ δ[ι]νατ[αι]	

↓

4 [υ]περ: so $\mathfrak{B}^5 \mathfrak{P}^{66} \mathfrak{P}^{75} \mathfrak{N}^* \mathfrak{B} \mathfrak{C}^* \mathfrak{W}^s$ *pc*; περι $\mathfrak{N}^2 \mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{C}^3 \mathfrak{L} \Theta \Psi$ 0101 *f*^{1,13} 33 \mathfrak{M} .

8 εγω ηλθον: so \mathfrak{C}^* 157 *pc*, supported by b and the Bohairic; all other MSS have ηλθον εγω.

8-9 ηλθον εν υδατι is the reading of \mathfrak{B}^{55} , \mathfrak{P}^{66} and \mathfrak{P}^{75} and some majuscules, including $\mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{B} \mathfrak{C} \mathfrak{L} \Theta$, and some minuscules, including *f*¹; τω is added before υδατι by A, other majuscules, *f*^{1,13} and \mathfrak{M} . The reading of 4445 is uncertain, since ηλθον is at the edge of the papyrus and [ε]ν could therefore have followed at the end of line 8, thus allowing the restoration [τω υδα]τι in line 9.

10 The omission of λεγων before οτι is otherwise found only in \mathfrak{N} before correction, with the support of one Old Latin MS, e (the rest include *discuss*).

11 No doubt there was a superscript bar over πνα, but it is no longer visible.

11-12 καταβαιν[ο]ν ως περιστεραν: this is the reading of \mathfrak{P}^{75} and most MSS. \mathfrak{N} , supported by a b e *r*¹, has the order ως περιστεραν καταβαινον. $\mathfrak{P}^{66} \mathfrak{K} \mathfrak{P} \Delta$ 0101 *f*^{1,13} 700. 892. 1241. 1424. 12211 *fm* read ωσει for ως.

14-15 [εν τω] υδατι: spacing strongly suggests that this was the reading of the papyrus; similarly $\mathfrak{P}^{66} \mathfrak{N}^s$ *pc* sa^{mm}; Or^{ss}. Nestle-Aland print εν υδατι, following the majority of the MSS.

15 Omicron of μοι corrected from iota.

16 εαν: there is a horizontal stroke at the left of the alpha, which could only be part of epsilon. The editions consulted all read αν without offering any variant.

18 After αγιω \mathfrak{C}^* , with support from the Sahidic and some MSS of Origen, adds και πνρι (from Mt iii. 11); \mathfrak{P}^{75} reads αγιω·καγω, but a corrector has added κα[] over και, which no doubt means that the corrector added και[] πνρι. There is certainly no room for this addition in 4445.

19 εορακα: so \mathfrak{P}^{75} and a number of majuscules and other MSS. $\mathfrak{N} \mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{B} \mathfrak{C} \mathfrak{A} \mathfrak{d}$ have ευρακα.

20 Although the reading is not certain, the papyrus appears to agree with \mathfrak{N}^* and a few minuscules in reading ο εκλεκτος του θ[υ], which has the support of e ff^{2*} sy^{ss}; similarly the Sahidic. \mathfrak{N}^s and most other MSS read ο υιος του θεου, supported by the majority of Old Latin MSS, the Vulgate, and other versions.

→

3-4 \mathfrak{P}^{75} reads και ηκολουθη[σαντων] [sic]; all other Greek MSS read και ακολουθησαντων. At the end of line 3 there would be just room for one or two letters lost, but there is a blank space after ετα, which is aligned with the omega from the line below, thus suggesting that it was the last letter on this line. The faint traces at the start of line 4 might be read κολ, and there may be just room for 4 letters in the lacuna following, suggesting that the papyrus read η[κο]λ[ουθη]σαν (influenced by verse 37²).

4 After *ευρικε[ε]* all Greek MSS, most Old Latin MSS and all versions insert *ουτος* (or equivalent). The omission of *ουτος* is supported by *c*, which omits *hic*, and perhaps by *b*, which replaces *hic* with *autem*.

4-5 *πρωτο[ν]*: the MSS are divided between *πρωι*, *πρωτον* and *πρωτος*; either of the last two could have been the reading of the papyrus.

7-8 \aleph A B *al* read simply $\chi\rho\epsilon$; the article is added by Φ^{66} Ψ^{75} and a few minuscules, and this may have been the reading of **4445**.

8 *ηγαγεν*: so Φ^{66} before correction, Ψ^{75} \aleph B L 579 *pe*, supported by one Latin MS, *b*; G *f*¹ *pe*, Φ^{66} after correction and Epiphanius read *ουτος ηγαγεν*, which the Bohairic supports; A W^a Θ Ψ *f*¹³ 33 \aleph , supported by most Latin and Syriac versions, read *και ηγαγεν*.

προς η[ν]: all other MSS add *τον* after *προς*. This cannot have been the reading of the papyrus, even though the superscript bar over *η[ν]* is no longer visible.

8-9 *εμβλε[ψ]α*: so Φ^{66} \aleph A B K L Γ Ψ *f*¹ 565, 579^{vid.}, 700 *pm sy^a*. *εμβλεψα* *δε* is read by Ψ^{75} Δ Θ *f*¹³ 33, 892, 1241, 1424 *pm*, supported by *sy^b*** and most Latin and Coptic witnesses. W^a *pe*, supported by *sy^cP* and 3 Old Latin MSS (a c q), read *και εμβλεψα*.

10 *ιωαννου*: so Φ^{66} Ψ^{75} \aleph B* L W^a 33 *pe*, with the support of some Old Latin and Coptic versions; A B² Ψ *f*¹³ \aleph , together with several Latin MSS and some Syriac and Coptic versions, read *ιωνα*; Θ 1241 *pe* and some MSS of the Vulgate read *ιωαννα*.

15 *βηθ'αϊδα*: Φ^{66} and a few other MSS (\aleph * 8, 127) read *βηθ'αϊδαν*.

15-16 All MSS read *εκ της πολεως*, but it is very difficult to read $\pi\omega\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ in the papyrus; it is particularly hard to make the traces fit the expected omega.

18 *μωυσης* is read by Φ^{66} Ψ^{75} B and most MSS; \aleph and a few other MSS read *μωυσε*.

20 Some MSS, A L (W^a) Θ Ψ *f*¹³ \aleph and Or^{pt}, add *τον* before *υιον*. The papyrus follows Φ^{66} Ψ^{75} \aleph B 33, 579, 12211 *pe* and Or^{pt} in omitting it.

21 *ναζαρεθ*: this is the commonest spelling in the MSS; Φ^{66} \aleph A B L X, several minuscules and quotations in the fathers support *ναζαρετ*. Similarly in line 22.

και ειπεν: \aleph and a few minuscules, with the support of some Old Latin MSS (a b c) and two Syriac versions (*sy^aP*), omit *και*.

W. E. H. COCKLE

4446. JOHN xvii 1-2; 11

A 3B6/6B.39

4.4 × 4.4 cm

Third century

The text is written in carbon ink in a semi-cursive script, which is largely bilinear. It has a slight tendency to slope to the right. It is written without excessive speed and very clearly. The letters are 3 to 4 mm high, being slightly taller on the ↓ side. Delta sometimes has a high right-hand diagonal stroke detached from the rest of the letter, and with a top flourish curling to the left. Epsilon is oval and inclined to the right. The script bears some similarity to the hand of XXXIII **2659**, which its editor (Rea) assigned to the second century; but **4446** has differences in some of the letters, notably epsilon and kappa, which, together with the slope mentioned above, suggest that it is not to be dated earlier than the third century. **4446** has been assigned the number Φ^{107} .

What survives is a fragment from a page of a papyrus codex. As no margins survive the supplements at left and right are arbitrary. The number of letters per line averages 23, which suggests that 26 or 27 lines have been lost between the two sides, and that the original page had some 33 lines; this assumes a normal text and that the restoration suggested for → is essentially correct. It seems that the fragment had at some point

been folded vertically, with side ↓ on the inside, between *εδωκας* and *αυτω* in line 5, as shown by the worm-cut upper edge which is symmetrical about the fold, and the damaged strip some 3 mm wide on the ↓ axis of fold where the surfaces stuck to each other. The pen was resharpened before the → page was written, as the nib is narrower than before. There are no marks of punctuation, but inorganic tremata are used on *ινα* in ↓4 and 6, and there may be a rough breathing over *εν* in →7. On the use of *nomina sacra* see the notes to ↓1-2 and 4.

↓

	] και επ[αρας τους οφθαλμους αυ]	xvii. 1
	[του ει]ς τον [ουρανον ειπεν περ ει]	
	[ληλυ]θεν η ω[ρα δοξασον σου]	
	[τον υν] ινα κ[αι ο υς δ]οξ[αση σε]	
5	[καθω]ς εδωκας αυτω ε[ξουσιαν]	2
	[παση]ς σαρκος ινα παν [ο δεδω]	
	[κας αυ]τω δωσ α[ν]τω ζω[ην]	
]. [

→

]. [
	] σε ερχ[ομαι]	xvii. 11
	[ουκετι εμμ ει]ν τω [κοσμω]	
	[και εν] τω [κοσμω ει]μι . . [. a]	
5	[γνε τη]ρησον αυτους εν [τω ονο]	
	[ματι σο]υ ω εδωκας μοι [ινα]	
	[ωσω] εν καθως και η[μεις	
]. . [

↓

1-2 The supplement *τους οφθαλμους αυτου* seems to be too long, however the words were divided between the lines. No variants are attested in Greek MSS but some Old Latin MSS (aur b e) and the Vulgate omit *suos*, which may suggest that the papyrus omitted *αυτου*.

επαρας . . . ειπεν is the reading of \aleph B C* D L W 1. 0109, with the support of some minuscules and a few versions (Φ^{66} has *επαρας τους ο*); but A C³ K N Γ Δ Ψ 0250, 209, 700, 1844 *pm*, with the support of several versions, read *επηρην . . . και ειπεν*. We cannot be certain which was the reading of the papyrus, since

we do not know to what extent the *nomina sacra* were abbreviated in it. Abbreviation of *ουρανός*, however, is not attested before c. AD 220 (BKT VIII 17=Rahlfs 974), see A. H. R. E. Paap, *Nomina sacra* (P. L. Bat. VIII), 104–5, and is rare before the fifth century; no NT example is quoted in J. O'Callaghan, "*Nomina sacra*" in *Papyrus graecis saeculi III*, 55–6 and 78. It is therefore almost certain that *ουρανός* was written in full; in which case there would hardly have been room to add *και* before *ειπεν*, whether or not *πατερ* was abbreviated.

4 *iva* κ[αι] ο τ[ε] δ[ε] [α]φ[α]ν[η]: kappa and the spacing thereafter guarantee that this was the reading of the papyrus. On abbreviation of *υιός* in its sacral usage see Paap, 110–112. There are three variants in the MSS: *iva ο υιός δοξαση*, N B C* W 0109. 0301 *pc*, supported by 3 Old Latin MSS (d e ff²), pbo and Or^p; *iva ο υιός σου δοξαση*, A D Θ 0250. 1. 579. l 844 *pc*, supported by most Old Latin MSS and the Syriac; *iva και ο υιός σου δοξαση*, C¹²⁹ L Ψ f¹³ 33 *W*, supported by q, some MSS of the Vulgate and Or^p. The wording which is apparently used in the papyrus seems not to be attested elsewhere.

7 *δωκ*: so W L; *δωκει* B Ψ 0301 f¹³ (1) *W*; *δωκω* N* 0109 *pc*; *δωκη* N² A C K 0250. 33 *al*; *εχη* D. *ει[υ]τω*: so N* W 0109 *pc*, supported by f and ff²; *αυτοικ* *W*⁶⁶ N² A B C K L Ψ 0301 f¹³ (1) *W* *al*, supported by most Latin MSS; D omits.

Therefore only W has the same reading, *δωκ αυτω*, as the papyrus.

8 The traces are so slight that no reading can be suggested with confidence.

→

1 The same comment applies as to §8.

2–4 The reading suggested is that of D, which is the only Greek MS to add *ουκετι εμι εν τω κοσμω και εν τω κοσμω εμι* between *ερχομαι* and *πατερ*. It derives some support from 3 Old Latin MSS: d and r¹ read *et iam non sum in hoc mundo et in hoc mundo sum* (et om. d), while c reads *et iam non sum in hoc mundo* only. Other MSS have no addition. Since the reading in line 2 of the papyrus is clear, as is τ[η]ρ[η]κον in line 5, it is certain that the papyrus had some addition at this point. So little survives, however, and the traces in line 4 are so meagre, that the reading offered in the text is far from certain.

After *ει[μ]ι* in line 4 no more than two spots of ink survive. Presumably these are the remains of the first two letters of *πατερ* (no doubt abbreviated, although no sign of a superscript bar survives).

6 After *σου* D again is alone in having some additional words: *και στε ημην μετ αυτων εγω εν τω κοσμω ετηρουν αυτους εν τω γραματι σου*. Whatever may be the case in the preceding lines, however, it is quite certain that the papyrus did not include this addition.

ω δεδωκας: so N L W 579 *pc*; *ο δεδωκας* D* (and d) 1424 *pc*; *ους δεδωκας* D¹ (N) 209. 892^a *al*, supported by some Latin MSS (aur f q v^g); *ω δεδωκας* *W*⁶⁰ A B C Θ Ψ f¹³ 1 *W*; *W*⁶⁶ reads ω[] *κακ*.

6–7 *W*⁶⁶ omits *iva* ... *ημεις*, but a lectional sign after *μοι* suggests that the words were probably added in the margin by a corrector. The omission is supported, however, by some Old Latin MSS, a b c e ff² r¹. **4446** agrees with B Θ 579. 700. l 844 *al*, supported by some Old Latin MSS (aur f), the Vulgate, and syⁿ in adding *και* before *ημεις* (remaining witnesses read *iva ωων εν καθως ημεις*).

7 There is a bar over the nu which may well be the remains of a rough breathing.

8 Only unidentifiable traces survive.

W. E. H. COCKLE

4447. JOHN xvii 23–24; xviii 1–5

α/4 (f) 1

6.2 × 10.5 cm

Third century

Two joining fragments comprise the foot of the page of a codex. The text is written in a handsome, medium-size, upright capital hand in a metallic ink, originally black but now tinged slightly brown. It is a practised hand and the letters are 3 mm tall. The left part of alpha is formed in a single sinuous loop; the diagonal sometimes has a pronounced concave swing to it and may run under the following letter, as in →10. Mu and ypsilon are written in a single movement without lifting the pen. The vertical

of phi leans slightly to the left and is the sole surviving letter which is not bilinear. The script bears a general resemblance to that of the scribe who copied Ezechiel in P. Chester Beatty IX–X, etc.=OT 183, but the scribe of **4447** is more controlled in his letter forms which are firmly bilinear. Kenyon commented on the Beatty papyrus "the date of the manuscript may be safely placed not later than the first half of the third century", although Wilcken thought it might be as early as the second; Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex*, Pennsylvania 1977, 181, assigned it to the third century. **4447** can also be assigned to this century; the use of metallic ink is very unlikely at an earlier date.

The surface of the ↓ side is very rubbed and faded. The number of letters per line varies between 21 and 27, which suggests 10 lines are missing at the top of the → side and that there were 23 lines to the column (assuming a normal text). The bottom surviving margin is 2.5 cm. According to Turner's rule of thumb (for which see **4445**, intro.) the upper margin is likely to have measured about 1.66 cm. Since 12 lines of text occupy a height of 7.4 cm, the written area of 23 lines would have occupied a height of about 14 cm, and the total height of the page would have measured c. 18.5 cm. The width of 13 letters on side → occupies 5.5 cm, so that the longest restored line on this side, which has 27 letters, would have occupied c. 11.5 cm. The surviving left-hand margin on side ↓ is 1.4 cm wide. If the right-hand margin matched it, the minimum width of the page would have been c. 14.5 cm. This falls within Turner's Group 9—Aberrant 1 'Not Square'.

The only *nomen sacrum* to occur is *ιη̄ς* (for *πατερ* see the note to ↓7). Inorganic tremata are found on *iva* in ↓10 and *υπηρετα* in →7. No use is made of breathings or punctuation. There is one instance of itacism in ↓5. **4447** = *W*¹⁰⁸.

↓

]. [
	... [	εγω]
	εν [αυτοις και εν εν εμοι ινα]	xvii. 23
	ωρι[ν τετελειωμενοι εις εν ινα]	
5	γειν[ωσκη ο κοσμος οτι εν με α]	
	πεστ[ειλ]ας και [ηγαπησας αυτους]	
	καθως εμε η[γαπησας πατερ ο]	24
	δεδω[κ]ας μοι [θελω ινα οπου ει]	
	μι εγω κκειν[οι ωων μετ εμου]	
10	ιν[α θ]εωρωρι[ν την δοξαν την εν]	
	μη[ν] ην εδ[ωκας μοι οτι ηγαπη]	
	σας με προ κ[αταβολησ]	

→

	] αυτ[ου η]	xviii. 1-2
	[δει δε και ιουδας ο παρα]διδο[υς αυ]	
	[τον τον τοπον οτι πολλα]κις συν[η]	
	[χθη ο ιη̄ς εκει μετα των] μαθη	
5	[των αυτου ο ουν ιουδας] λαβων τη[ν]	3
	[σπειραν και εκ] τω[ν αρχ]ιερευων	
	[και φαρισαιω]ν ὑπηρετας ερχε	
	[ται εκει μετ]α φανων και λαμπα	
	[δων και οπλ]ων ιη̄ς δε ειδωσ	4
10	[παντα τα ερχ]ομενα επ αυτον	
	[εξελθων ειπε]ν αυτοι τ[ι]να ζη	
	[τειτε απεκριθη]σαν αυτω ιη̄ν	5
	[τον ναζωραιω]ν λεγει αυτοι[ς]	

↓

1-2 The text of verse 22 given in Nestle-Aland²⁷ is *καγω την δοξαν ην δεδωκασ μοι δεδωκα αυτοι να ωσιν εν καθως ημεις εν*. Since there are several variants and the traces are so exiguous, it would be unwise to suggest any reconstruction of the text at this point.

4 After *εις* the MSS are divided between *να*, *και*, and *και να*; the last would probably make the line too long, but the papyrus could have read either *να* or *και*.

6 *ηραπησας*: so most MSS, although D and some minuscules have *ηραπησα*. Either could have been the reading of the papyrus. \mathfrak{P}^{50} and \mathfrak{P}^{66} are equally uncertain.

7-8 ο] δεδω[κ]ας: so \mathfrak{P}^{60} N B D W Θ Ψ 579 *bc*, with the support of *sy*⁶; A C L (Θ) Ψ *f*¹⁻¹³ 33 \mathfrak{M} , with the support of *sy*^{6b}, most Latin MSS and Clement, read *ουε δεδωκασ*. Which was the reading of **4447** is unclear, since we do not know whether *πατερ* (or *πατηρ*, which is read by some MSS) was abbreviated.

9 *εγω* is omitted by \mathfrak{P}^{66} .

10 *θειωρωσ[ι]ν*: this is the reading of nearly all MSS. \mathfrak{P}^{60} and W before correction read *θειωρουσιν*.

10-11 D, with the support of *sy*⁶, omits *την εμην*.

11 *εδωκασ*: so B K N Γ Θ 209 *al* and Clement; N A C D and most other MSS read *δεδωκασ*.

→

3-4 *συν[ι]χθη ο ιη̄ς*: the MSS are divided between *συνιχθη ιη̄σους* (which is accepted by Nestle-Aland), *συνιχθη και ο ιη̄σους*, and *συνιχθη ο ιη̄σους*; of these the last suits the space available in **4447** the best, but neither of the others can be ruled out.

4-5 It is certain that the papyrus did not follow B in using the word order *μετα των μαθητων αυτου εκει*.

7 [και φαρισαιω]ν: so N¹ A C W Θ Ψ 0250 *f*¹⁻¹³ 33 \mathfrak{M} ; spacing very strongly suggests that the papyrus did not read *και εκ των φαρισαιων* with N² D L 579 *bc*, supported by 2 Old Latin MSS (a *aur*), the reading accepted in Nestle-Aland, nor *και των φαρισαιων* with B 0141.

9 *ιη̄ς δε*: so N D L W *f*¹⁻¹³ 33. 565 *bc*, supported by *sy*⁶ and most Latin and Coptic versions; *ιη̄ς ουν* \mathfrak{P}^{60} A B C Θ Ψ 0250 \mathfrak{M} , supported by *sy*⁶ and some Latin MSS (*aur*⁶ e *vg*).

ειδωσ: so \mathfrak{P}^{60} and most MSS; *ιδων* D, with a few minuscules and versions.

11 [εξελθων ειπε]ν: so N A C³ L W Θ Ψ 0250 *f*¹³ 33 \mathfrak{M} ; *εξηλθεν και λεγει* B C* D *f*¹ 565 *bc*, with support from most Latin MSS; \mathfrak{P}^{60} has [*θεν εξω κ*], cf. *procedens foras dixit* in *f*. The reading of the papyrus is more or less guaranteed by the spacing and the surviving nu.

13 *ναζωραιω]ν*: *ναζωραιων* is read by nearly all MSS; D a c e *vg* have *ναζαρηνον*.

W. E. H. COCKLE

4448. JOHN xxi 18 20; 23-25

A 6153-7

4.1 × 7.9 cm

Third century

This fragment contains part of the last chapter of the Gospel. Apart from \mathfrak{P}^{59} (P. Colt Nessana II 3), which preserves fragments of verses 18-20 and 23, it is the first papyrus in which these verses have appeared and the first from Egypt. It is also the earliest witness. \mathfrak{P}^{59} is not earlier than the seventh century. **4448** = \mathfrak{P}^{109} .

The text is written in carbon ink in a very plain, upright, unligatured round hand 4 mm high; letters sometimes touch but there is no linkage. Iota rises above the line and rho falls below it. Theta has a cross-bar extended on either side, a characteristic also to be seen in \mathfrak{P}^{66} (P. Bodmer II = *GMAW*², Plate 63), which is usually assigned to the first part of the third century. The hand is an inept one of literary pretensions fashioned with a blunt pen. It bears a general resemblance to \mathfrak{P}^{66} , but the restricted range of letters present precludes a detailed comparison across the alphabet. No *nomina sacra* survive but *θν* and *τε* have been supplemented in →6 and ↓8. There are no breathings or punctuation. Two further lines of text would have been needed to complete the Gospel, but there are no traces of a coronis surviving in the lower left margin of ↓.

If we assume a normal text, the amount missing between the two sides would have occupied 16 or 17 lines. This would give a page of some 26 lines with approximate measurements of 12 by 24 cm, and so the codex would fall into Turner's Group 8.

→

	εκτε]ρει[ς]	xxi. 18
	[τας χειρας σου] και αλλοι	
	[c. 12] ουσιν σε	
	[οπου ου θελεις τ]ουτο δε	19
5	[ειπεν σημαιων ποιω] θα	
	[νατω δοξασει τον θν και]	
	[τουτο ειπων λεγει αυ]τω ακο	
	[λουθει μοι επιστραφ]εις ο	20
	[πετρος βλεπει του] μαθη	
10	[την	
	μ[ε]νε[ιν εως ερχομαι τι]	xxi. 23
	προς σε[υς ουτος εστιν ο μα]	24
	θητης [ο και μαρτυρων πε]	
	ρι τουτ[ων και ο γραφας]	

↓

5 ταυ[τα και οίδαμεν οτι]
[αληθης αυτου η μαρτυρια]
εε[τιν εστιν δε και αλλα] 25
πολλ[α α εποιησεν ο τε α]
τινα [εαν γραφηται καθ εν]
10 ουδ[

→2-3 The MSS are divided between singulars and plurals, with the following variants:

αλλος ζωσει εε και οισει B C^{vid}
αλλος εε ζωσει και οισει Θ (ειει) Ψ^{f13} 91, with support from some Old Latin MSS (aur b e f) and sy^aph
αλλος εε ζωσει και οισει εε A, supported by 3 Old Latin MSS (a c ff²)
αλλοι ζωκουσιν εε και οισουσιν C² (ζωκουσιν) 33
αλλοι ζωκουσιν εε και αποκουσιν εε N¹
αλλοι ζωκουσιν εε και ποιηκουσιν σοι N^{*}
αλλοι εε ζωκουσιν και αποκουσιν 1 βρ
αλλοι εε ζωκουσιν και αποκουσιν εε W 565 βc, with support from sy^{hmg} and pbo
αλλοι εε ζωκουσιν και απαγουσιν εε D

All that we can be certain of is that the papyrus did not read αλλος with most MSS, but αλλοι with the MSS quoted above and with 9⁵⁹, which reads] αλλοι [± 14] ποιουσι. It must therefore have read plural verbs. All the above variants, however, are too long for the space available in line 3. Did the papyrus perhaps read αλλοι [ζωκουσιν και οισουσιν εε? cf. the omission of εε later in the sentence in many of the MSS.

4 No doubt the papyrus read σπον with all MSS except Sinaiticus, which, before correction, read οσα. There is a problem at the end of this line, where two strokes of ink are visible after δε. They look like parts of two uprights and it would be easy to read nu, which, however, is nonsensical. This ink cannot be part of ειπεν and may be just an error which the writer then cancelled.

8 The papyrus omitted δε after επιστραφεις with A B C W 33 βc, supported by sy^a, the Sahidic and most Old Latin MSS. δε is included by 9⁵⁹ N D Θ Ψ^{f1.13} 91, supported by d f sy^h pbo and bo.

↓1-2 τι] προς ε[ε: omitted in N^{*} C^{2vid} 1. 565 βc, supported by a e and sy^a; included in N¹ A B C^{*} W Θ Ψ^{f13} 33 91, supported by most Latin MSS and sy^{ph}; D has προς εε only.

3 ο και μαρτυρωι: spacing suggests that this was the reading of the papyrus, with B C W supported by Origen, against the bulk of the MSS, which omit και.

4 The MSS are divided between και ο γραφας, και γραφας, and ο και γραφας, any of which could have been the reading of the papyrus.

6-7 αυτου η μαρτυρια] εε[τιν: if the restorations suggested correctly indicate the line length, the papyrus must have had this order of words with B C^{*} W (33), and not εστιν η μαρτυρια αυτου with N A C³ Θ Ψ^{f1.13} 91, nor εστιν αυτου η μαρτυρια with D 12211, supported by aur and d.

8 α εποιησεν: the MSS are divided between this reading and οσα εποιησεν, either of which could have been the reading of the papyrus.

W. E. H. COCKLE

4449. EPISTLE OF JAMES, III 13-IV 4, IV 9-V 1

50 4B.23/L(1)

7.5 × 19 cm

Third or fourth century

Part of a leaf of a codex preserving the upper margin and 25 lines of text on each side, the lower portion of which has been assembled from many small pieces and is

more fragmentary. Calculation suggests that eleven or twelve lines have been lost altogether at the foot of the first side.

Page numbers survive in the upper margin, 5=6 along the fibres and 7 across the fibres. The surviving side margin on each side is thus the outer margin. For 6 and 7 to be the two sides of the same leaf, the codex must have begun with an unnumbered cover page, cf. X 1229 (9²³). The TLG word-count for the Epistle is 1857, which would require roughly 9 pages in the format of 4449, making a slim quire of just three bifolia if all sheets were laid as normally with horizontal fibres upwards. The combination of 6th page horizontal fibres and 7th page vertical fibres could theoretically be achieved in a larger single quire only if the sheets were laid either with the vertical fibres upwards, which is abnormal, or with horizontal and vertical fibres upwards alternately; but single quire codices were normally composed without alternation in the fibre direction of the constituent sheets (E. G. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex* 65 ff.). The quire with this Epistle might also have been the first of several quires making up a larger codex, but the calculated original dimensions (roughly 29 cm high by 13 broad) would put the codex in Turner's Group 8 (ibid. pp. 20-1) where a single quire was the predominant format (ibid. p. 24). Nevertheless James often stood as the first of the Catholic Epistles in our MSS (N A B, etc.; see B. M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament* 299).

The confident informal hand is slightly sloping on page 6, rather more upright and more rounded on page 7. It is broadly similar to 4445 in the present volume, assigned to the third century. It is not an easy hand to date; the frequently extended kappas (especially on page 6) perhaps point towards the fourth century. We find this feature in a more pronounced form in the later LXIII 4400.

There are no accents. Final nu at line-end is often represented by a supralinear bar. Diaeresis is frequent; a diastole occurs once (αλλα). A short space often serves as punctuation. The *nomen sacrum* for κύριος occurs twice. The text contains several itacisms and at least two careless errors (→9, ↓8; cf. also →5). There are no kollema joins. The upper margins measure c. 2 cm, the outer margins c. 1.5 cm.

Parts of the Epistle are preserved in four other papyri and in some parchment fragments (Aland 9²⁰, 9²³, 9⁵⁴ and 9⁷⁴ and 0166, 0173 and 0246, = Van Haelst nos. 470, 489, 543-7; note also Van Haelst no. 1090). The four papyri are collated in W. Grunewald, *Das Neue Testament auf Papyrus, I. Die katholischen Briefe* (Berlin, 1986). Three of these papyri are from Oxyrhynchus (Aland 9²⁰, 9²³ and 9⁵⁴ = Van Haelst nos. 543, 546-7) but they are not related to 4449. Only 9⁷⁴ (= P. Bodmer XVII), assigned to the sixth or seventh century, overlaps in part with 4449. 4449 is the earliest known witness to these verses of James.

The supplements in the transcription below are from the 27th edition of Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (Stuttgart, 1993). Any exceptions are indicated in the apparatus criticus, which is based on this edition with occasional further information from Tischendorf, *editio octava critica maior*, the Beuron *Vetus Latina*, and Grunewald.

Symbols used for citing manuscripts follow the practice of Nestle-Aland²⁷. On the text of the Epistle in general see the three volumes of K. Aland, *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin, 1987).

4449 has been assigned the number B¹⁰⁰.

→	] ζ	
	[c. 12] καλης ανατροφης τα ερ	III 13
	[γα αυτου εν πρα]υτητι σοφια[ε] ει δε[ε] ζηλο-	14
	[πικρον εχετε] και ερειθειαν εν τη καρ	
5	[δια υμων μη κ]ατακαυχασθε και ψευδευ	
	[εθε κατα της α]ληθειας [ο]υκ εστιν αυτη	15
	[η σοφια ανωθεν] καταρχομεν[η] αλλ επιγι	16
	[ος ψυχικη δαιμ]ονιωδης οπου γαρ ζη	
	[λος και εριθεια ε]κει ακαστασια και παν	
10	[φ αυλον πραγμα] η δε ανωθεν σοφια πρω	17
	[τον μεν αγνη εστι]ν επειτα ειρηνικη επι	
	[εικης ευπειθης] μεστη ελεους και καρ	
	[πων αγαθων αδιακρ]ιτ[ος] και ανυποκρι	
	[τος καρπος δε δι]καιο[εν]ν[η]ς εν ειρηνη	18
15	[σπειρεται τοις ποι]ουσ[ιν] ειρηνην ποθεν	IV 1
	[πολεμοι και ποθεν μα]χαι εν υμιν ουκ	
	[εντευθεν εκ των η]δονων υμων τω-	
	[στρατευομενων εν τοις] μελε[ει]ν υμ[ω]	2
	[επιθυμειτε και ουκ ε]χετε φονευετε και	
20	[ζηλουτε και ου δ]υνα[ε] επιτυ[χ]ει[εν] μα	
	[χεσθε και πολεμ]ειτε ουκ εχετε δια το μη	
	[αιτεισθαι υμας] αιτειτε κ[αι] ου λαμβανε	3
	[τε διοτι κακω]ς αιτειτε ι[να εν] ταις ηδο	
	[ναις υμων δια]πανησητ[ε μοι]χαλιδες	4
25	[ουκ οιδατε οτι η φι]λια του κο[ςμου] εχθρα	
	[του θυ εστιν ος εαν ον] βουληθη φιλο[ε]	

↓	ζ [
	εις πενθος μετατραπη[τω και η χαρα]	IV 9
	εις καταφθια ταπεινω[θητε ενωπι]	10
	ον του κω και υψωσει υμ[α]ς μη καταλα]	11
5	λειτε αλληλων αδελφο[ι] ο καταλαλων	
	αδελφου η κ[ρ]εινων τ[ον αδελφον αυ]	
	του καταλαλει νομου κα[ι] κρινει νομον	
	ει δε νον κρινει ουκ ε[ι] ποιητης νομου	
	αλλα κρ[ι]της εις εστιν ν[ομοθετης και]	12
10	κριτης ο δυναμενος [εωσαι και απολε]	
	και κυ δε τις ει ο κρινω[ν τον πλησιον]	
	αγε νυν οι λεγοντες ση[μερον η αυρι]	13
	ον πορευομ[εθα] εις τηνδε την πολιν και]	
	ποιησομεν εκ[ει] ενιαυ[τον και εμπο]	
15	ρευσομ[ε]θα και κερ[δη]σομεν οιτινες	14
	ουκ επι[ε]ταθε [το της αυριον ποια]	
	γαρ ζωη υμ[ω]ν [α]τις γαρ εστε η προς]	
	ολιγον φαν[ομενη] επειτα και αφα]	
	νιζομενη [αντι] το[ν] λεγειν υμας εαν]	15
20	ο κω θ[ε]ληση και ζησομεν και ποιη]	
	σομε[ν] το[υ]το η εκε[ι]ν[ο]ν νυν δε και]	16
	χασθε εν ταις α[λλ]αζον[ε]ιαις υμων πα]	
	σα κα[υχησις] τοιαυτη [πονηρα εστιν]	
	ει[δοτι ον] καλον ποι[εω και μη ποι]	17
25	ου[ν]τι αμαρτια αυτω εστιν αγε νυν]	V 1
	ο[ι]	

→

3 The papyrus did not add *αρα* before *ζηλον* with A P Ψ and some minuscules.
4-5 τη καρδια: so A B C *αι*; ταις καρδιας N 056. 0142 and several minuscules, with the support of the Bohairic and most Old Latin and Vulgate MSS.

5 κ^αατακαυχασθε: not καυχασθε with A 056. 0142 *al*.

ψευδευ: half-formed *υ* and *δ* apparently run together, with supralinear dot over *δ*. The scribe may have written *ψεδευ* by mistake, then attempted to insert *υ* after the first *ε*, signalling the error with a dot over *δ*. In which case he failed to delete the superfluous *υ*.

5-6 Not *κατα της αληθειας και ψευδεσθε* with N*, supported by *sy^p*.

6-7 Not η σοφια αυτη with C and some minuscules.

9 *ακαταραξια*: haplography for *ακαταραξια*, which is the reading of all MSS. The papyrus did not add *και* before this with \aleph A 33. 81 *bc*, with support from *sy*^p.

13 Spacing indicates that the papyrus did not add *εργων* before *αγαθων* with G and several minuscules. *και* before *ανωπεκριτος* with K L 049. 056. 0142. 69. 322. 323 \mathfrak{M} , against \aleph A B C *al*.

14 *δε δε|καισ[υ]ν[η]*: spacing suggests that this was the reading of the papyrus, agreeing in this with \mathfrak{P}^{74} \aleph^* A B C *al*, with the support of the Sahidic. K 049 \mathfrak{M} add *της*; \aleph before correction and Ψ read *ο* for *της*.

16 *και ποθεν μαχα]* *εν υμιν*: so \aleph B C P, with several minuscules, supported by *sy*^b and most Old Latin MSS. Spacing makes it certain that the papyrus did not omit *ποθεν* with K L 049. 056. 0142 \mathfrak{M} , supported by the Vulgate and *sy*^p; nor did it follow A Ψ and a few minuscules in having the order *εν υμιν και ποθεν μαχα*.

17 The supplement seems short for the space, but there are no recorded variants.

21 *ουκ εχετε*: so A B 33 \mathfrak{M} , supported by the Vulgate and Sahidic. \aleph P Ψ and numerous minuscules, with the support of the Bohairic and Syriac versions and the Old Latin MSS, read *και ουκ εχετε*.

22 Correction mark over final *ε* of *αυτειτε*? *αυτειτε κ[αι]*: not *αυτειτε δε και* with P Ψ and a number of minuscules; \mathfrak{P}^{74} is reported as reading *αυτειτ]ε δε[ε*.

23 *αυτειτε*: the rest of the tradition has *αυτειθε* unanimously. *αυτειτε* may be a slip induced by *αυτειρε* immediately above. Even if it were intended, we may note Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (1979) §316, where it is considered that the alternation of the active/middle of *ατρω* in this passage is purely arbitrary, although there can be a difference of meaning elsewhere.

24 *μοιχ]αδωδ*: the papyrus followed the reading of \aleph^* A B and a few minuscules, with the support of the Old Latin, the Vulgate and *sy*^p; it did not add *μοιχοι και* before this with \aleph^* K L P Ψ \mathfrak{M} , supported by *sy*^b.

25 The supplement at the start of the line seems long for the space, but there are no recorded variants. *του κο[σμου]*: there is no room for the addition of *τουτου*, which is found in \aleph , supported by the Vulgate and the Syriac.

↓

2 *μετατραπη[ται]*: so B P and several minuscules; \aleph A Ψ 33 \mathfrak{M} read *μεταστραφηται*.

3 The papyrus may have added *ουν* after *ταπεινωθητε* with \aleph , supported by a few minuscules.

4 *του κ[ω]*: so L 049. 056 \mathfrak{M} ; *του* is omitted in \aleph A B K P Ψ *al*.

5 *αλληλων αδελφο[ι]*: the reverse order is found in A Ψ and some minuscules.

6 *η κ[ρ]εινων*: the papyrus agrees with \aleph A B P Ψ *al*, supported by the Vulgate; it did not follow K L \mathfrak{M} , supported by the Old Latin, in reading *και κρινων*.

8 *νον*: haplography for *νομον*.

Spacing strongly suggests that the papyrus followed \mathfrak{P}^{74} \aleph A B L 049 *al* in reading *ουκ ει*, with the support of the Vulgate and some Old Latin MSS, and did not read *ουκετι* for *ουκ*, with K P Ψ 056. 0142 and a number of minuscules, supported by a few Old Latin MSS.

9 The trace after *εστιν* rules out omicron; therefore the papyrus omitted *ο* before *νομοθετης* with \mathfrak{P}^{74} B P and a few minuscules. *ο* is included by \aleph A Ψ and the majority of MSS.

9–10 The papyrus agreed with \aleph A B P Ψ and some minuscules in including *και κριτης*, supported by the Syriac, Coptic and most Latin versions, against its omission in \mathfrak{P}^{74} K L 049 \mathfrak{M} .

11 The papyrus supports \mathfrak{P}^{74} \aleph A B P Ψ and several minuscules in reading *ο κρινων*, rather than *ο κρινεις* with K L \mathfrak{M} .

12 The MSS are divided between *η αυριον* and *και αυριον*; either could have been the reading of the papyrus.

13 *πορευομ[εθα]*: so \aleph B K P with some minuscules; A Ψ \mathfrak{M} read *πορευομεθα*. The Vulgate supports the future; the Old Latin MSS are divided.

14 *ποιηομεν*: the papyrus agrees with B P and several minuscules, supported by all the Latin MSS, against \aleph A K L Ψ 33 \mathfrak{M} , which read *ποιησωμεν*.

εξ[ει] ε[μ]αν[τον]: the papyrus did not omit *εκει* with A Ψ and some minuscules. Whether it supported \aleph B P, a few minuscules and most Latin MSS in omitting *ενα* after *εναντων* is unclear.

15 Since the papyrus agrees with \aleph A B P *al* in reading *εμπορευομεθα*, it no doubt agreed with them in reading *κερδωομεν*, as against *εμπορευομεθα* and *κερδωομεν*, the reading of most MSS.

16 The papyrus is likely to have read either *το της αυριον* or *τα της αυριον*, rather than just *της αυριον*; the MSS are divided between the three variants.

16–17 *ποια] γαρ ζωη*: this exact wording does not appear to have occurred in any other MS. Attested variants are:

ποια γαρ η ζωη: \aleph^* A K L P Ψ 33. 1739 \mathfrak{M} , with the support of most Coptic versions, *sy*^p, and the Vulgate; similarly \mathfrak{P}^{74} reads] *γαρ η* [.

ποια η ζωη: \aleph^* and several minuscules, with the support of some Old Latin MSS, *sy*^b and *bo*^{ms}.

ποια ζωη: B.

17 We can be confident that the papyrus did not omit *ατις γαρ εστε* with \aleph , but it is of no help concerning the other variants at this point.

20 *θ[ε]ληση*: so \aleph A K L *al*; *θελη* B P and several minuscules.

20–21 *ποιη]ομε[ν]*: the papyrus presumably also had *ζητ[ω]μεν* in line 20, and so supports \aleph A B P *al* against the subjunctives found in K L Ψ 33 \mathfrak{M} .

21–22 *καυ]χασθε. κατακαυχασθε*, read by \aleph and a few minuscules, can probably be excluded on grounds of space.

R. HÜBNER

Transcription in modern staff notation

Original a semitone lower

2]που λυ[3]πον τ[4]ων ἀ-πο γ[5]!λῆς χε-ρῶν[6]!-θ-ναc γὰρ ἰ-α[
 7]εν βυ-θοῖc ε[8]τακί ἐν ὕ-δα-τ[ι 9]ο-λων το θα[12

M. L. WEST

IV. MAGIC, RELIGION AND ASTROLOGY

4468. MAGIC

20 3B.35/C(1)a

21 × 27 cm

Late first century

Part of an opisthograph roll containing a magic formula. Each side preserves parts of two columns, the first column on the recto surviving for its full width. The upper margin is not preserved; the space above verso col. i is deceptive, cf. recto col. i and note the blank space below verso i 17. The intercolumnar space on the recto is c. 2 cm, on the verso 3–4 cm. Lower margins survive but of unequal depth below the different columns; generally 2.5–3 cm remain, but recto col. ii descends much deeper, leaving only 0.8 cm. There is a three-layer kollema join near each edge of the papyrus, the distance between them on the recto being 18 cm. The papyrus is a palimpsest, with scattered cursive traces of the original text still visible on the recto.

The text is mostly written in a good cursive of documentary type, sloping to the right, and assignable to the later first century AD. The lower part of recto col. ii (ll. 19 ff.) is more upright with fewer ligatures and appears to be by a different hand. The script of the verso, while the work of the same hand as most of the recto, is larger and more spaced out, resulting in fewer lines per column. The same hand was responsible for P. Leipz. inv. 429, likewise a magic formula, published by K. Preisendanz as PGM LII. The Leipzig papyrus comes from Oxyrhynchus and was obtained from Otto Rubensohn for the Leipzig collection in 1905 (information from Dr G. Karpp). It preserves parts of two columns written across the fibres; the other side is blank. From a photograph it has not been possible to confirm or deny that the Leipzig piece belongs to the same roll as 4468. Both contain remains of hexameter verses (PGM LII 2–4, 4468 verso i). Nevertheless, there is no demonstrable direct textual link between the two. On the other hand, the fact that one side of PGM LII is blank, unlike 4468, is not a reason to exclude a connection: magical papyri often contain blank spaces, left for adding drawings for example which were subsequently never executed. Preisendanz assigned PGM LII to the third century AD, but this dating must be rejected in favour of a much earlier one. A good parallel is PSI XII 1235, of 86–89 (cf. BL VII 241; plate in M. Norsa, *Scritt. doc.* XIVa). The presence of two hands in 4468 would be interesting as possibly indicating that this magic manual was produced in a copying centre.

The preserved portion of the formula divides into various sections. Recto, col. i: *logos* of an incantation of aggressive magic, probably erotic. Col. ii: various spells of uncertain nature. Verso, col. i: lines 1–17, *charition* (remains of hexameters); 18–26, perhaps *agrupnētikos* (remains of hexameters). Col. ii: 1–10, erotic charm; 11–14, *agrupnētikos*; 15–19, somniferent charm; 20–25, phylactery, with a *logos* in Egyptian.

The text is articulated by means of interlinear spaces, paragraphoi (forked at recto col. ii 8), eisthesis and ecthesis. There are no accents, breathings, apostrophes or diaer-

eses. Spaces denote strong pauses and are regularly left before and after magical words, and also in the Egyptian section (verso col. ii 23 ff.). Iota adscript is employed inconsistently, on one occasion in error (verso col. ii 19). † stands for δεινα and δεινος, and †† occurs for δεινα δεινος. Note that these occur on both sides.

The following abbreviations are used: LL=J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (MÄS 19, 1969); *König*=idem, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (ADAIK 7, 1970); *ÄHG*=idem, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zurich-Munich 1975); *RuA*=idem, *Re und Amun* (OBO 51, 1983); *Sonnenhymnen*=idem, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (Mainz 1983).

Recto

Col. i

[. c. 30] .c ἄλκι[μος
 [. c. 25] δ]μβρίου Διός· [. . .
 τοὺς ὀφθαλμ[οὺς c. 17] κας τοὺς ὀφθαλ[μοὺς]
 καὶ σκότος [ἐγένετο τοῖς] εἰδύλοισ πάσι, ταῖς μορφαῖς πάσαις,
 5 τοῖς χρώμασι π[άσι c. 6] σου πάσῃ ἤκέ μοι β̄, σπεῦσον β̄,
 ταχὺ β̄ [. . .] [c. 6] ἐξ]αμᾶτ[ι]σον τὴν δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνος) ἐν τῇ σήμερον
 ἡμ[έ]ρα [c. 12] οἰδᾶ σου τὰ ὀνόματα κ(αι) τὴν πορῆ-
 αν σου ἐν τῷ [οὐραν]ῷ, οἰδᾶ σου κ(αι) τὰς μορφάς. ἔχεις μορφήν
 [έ]ν [το]ῖς τετράποσιν ζώοις . ἐστὶν τράγος, ἡ μορφή σου ἐν τοῖς
 10 [έ]ροῖς ζώοις ὀρνέοις ἡ φοῖνιξ, ἡ μορφή σου ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ
 ἀλάβης ὁ μέλας, ἡ μορφή σου ἐν τῷ ὄρει λέων, ἡ μορφή σου
 [έν] τῇ γῆι κᾶνθαρος, ἡ μορφή σου ἐν τοῖς δένδροις καρδάμμων
 ἄγιον ἡ πό[λις] σου Ἡλιούπολις ἐστίν· κννοκέφαλος ὄνομά
 15 ς[ο]ῖ αἰών, ἡ μορφή σου ἐν τοῖς τετράποσιν ταῦρος, ἐν τοῖς
 ἐρπετοῖς ὄνομά σοι [θ]φίς, ἡ βοτάνη σου ἄνηθον· τὸ ἐξ σοῦ ἐπι-
 φανές ὄνομα [c. 5] .ρω σου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ Ὁλυμπος
 . [c. 12] δνο]μά σοι ὁ ἐπιφαίνων Ὁλύμπος, ἐν τῷ
 [c. 8] . [c. 6] δ]νυμαῖς οἱ ζώ[ν]τες κ(αι) ἀφανιζόμενοι
 . α . [c. 17] π]άντα κ[(αι) τὰ] δένδρη πάντα κ(αι) τὰ
 20 [ἄ]πτερα [πάντα κ(αι) οἱ ὀδ]οιποροῦ[ν]τες πάντες κ(αι) οἱ ὄπο
 [. .] γοντες ἐν τῷ ὕγρ[ῶ]ι ἐξοῦ τὸ ζῆν ἔχομε[ν] ἀνοίξας
 [τοῦ]c ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπ[. .] .ας τὸ φῶς πάσῃ μορφή ἐξ οὗ ζῆν.
 [έ]ἄν φανῆς, ἱλαροὶ γίν[ο]νται πάντες· ἐὰν δύνῃς, θάνατος
 γίνεται κ(αι) σκότος γίνεται. τῶν ἀγαθῶ ν' σου πάντες. ὄνομά σοι

25 ἥλιος, νῆπιος, ἄγιος, τ[ι]τάνηος, ἄλκιμος, μέγιστος, ὁ ἐπι-
 φανείς ἐκ τοῦ δμβρίου Διός. ἤκέ μοι κ(αι) ἐπάκουσόν μου
 ἱλαρὸς ὦν, κ(αι) ἐπακουσάτωσάν μοι οἱ θεοὶ κ(αι) αἱ θεαί·
 ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα ἐκρηξὸν κ(αι) ἔξαιμον ποιήσον
 τὴν δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνος)· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιήσῃτε, πορεύσομαι εἰς Φάγρων πόλιν
 30 κ(αι) εἰς Ἀβωνβον κ(αι) εἰς Ἡλιούπολιν κ(αι) εἰς τρέψω τὰ ὀστά τοῦ
 ἀγίου φοῖνικος μεγίστου κ(αι) ἐπιχεῶ ἔλαιον ἀληθινὸν
 καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὸ <ν> ἀλη[θιν]ὸν σμάραγδον
 οὗ ἐστίν σου ὁ τάφος καὶ ἀνύξω το. [c. 9] ὄν οὐ κείται
 ὁ μέγιστος Ὁσειρις ἐν τῷ ἀπλάτω [c. 7] αι διακεινέται
 35 ὑποκάτω αὐτοῦ οἴε. [c. 5] . . . c. [c. 9] γηται οὐ οἱ
 τέσσαρες κννοκέφ[αλοι c. 15] . ὀντες
 αὐτὸν κ(αι) ἐξαφε. [c. 20] κ(αι) γένηται

1] .c, upper right arc of a circular letter.

2] . . . [. . .], first, foot of an upright; second, circle, probably ο; third, lower arc of a circular letter; fourth, point at line-level.

6 [. .] [. .] [. .], first, short oblique rising from left to right; second, horizontal above the letter-tops. ††

7 [c. 12] . , up-facing arc at middle height suitable to tail of α or tongue of ε. κς

7-8 l. πορείαν

15 l. ἐκ

16 [c. 5] .ρω, the end of a horizontal joining the loop of ρ; below, on the edge at line-level, perhaps a very tiny trace.

19 . α . [. .], first, the very end of a horizontal touching α at two-thirds height; after α, an angle at line-level formed by an oblique sloping down from the left and another sloping down from the right (cursive ε or τ?); then, a small up-facing arc at mid-letter level (if the preceding letter is ε, it could be its tongue).

21 l. ἐκ σοῦ.

22 ἐπ[. .] . , ac, horizontal level with letter-tops joining the loop of α (γ, τ, c).

25 l. τιτάνιος.

29 ††

33 l. ἀνοίξω.

34 l. Ὁσειρις, διακεινέται.

35 οἴε. [. . . c. [. . .], between lacuna and c scattered ink; after c probably left-hand part of a circle (σ?).

36] ὀντες, the trace is suitable to loop of rho.

37 Between αὐτὸν and κ(αι) a blob of ink; accidental? ἐξαφε. [. .], first, left-hand and upper part of a circle, apparently with cross-bar in the middle; θ suggested; second, apparently up-facing arc at middle height.

Col. ii

[.

[.

[.

δ[.

κατακ[.

5 εἶδωλα [
 νωνται[
 ἐν τῇ c. [
 ἡμέρα[
 χρ[
 10 λα[
 α. [
 αυ. η[
 κ(αι) νο. [
 . . [
 15 [
 . [
 β. [
 ο. [
 ἐπι καν. [
 20 πρὸς δη[
 ωστανε[
 ραι. . . ν[
 μέλι ην. [
 ἐφημε[
 25 Ὁσειριω . [
 ἐπωδῆν [
 κανθαρ[
 καὶ ανε . [
 παστ. . [
 30 νες ὕθ. [
 ικη. . κ[
 θ[
 . [
 . [
 35 κ. [

1 . [, upright.

7 ἐν τῇ c. [, foot of upright.

11 α. [, π or γ. .

12 αυ. η[, γ or τ.
 13 νο. [, perhaps η.
 16 [, horizontal level with letter-tops, τ probable.
 17 β [, point at mid-letter level.
 18 ο. [, oblique descending from right to left (λ, μ).
 19 ἐπι καν. [, θ or ε.
 22 ραι. . ν[, indecipherable.
 23 ην. [, thin trace at two-thirds height.
 25 1. Ὁσειριω. . [, left side and base of a circlet level with the letter tops.
 29 παστ. . [, scattered ink.
 30 νες ὕθ. [. The raised upsilon seems too strong and distinct to be from the washed-out text. It seems to be by m¹ rather than by m². After θ scattered ink.
 31 ικη. . κ[, top of upright; part of upright.
 33 [, γ² ρ²
 34 [, υ²
 35 κ. [, left side of a circular letter (ο?).

Verso

Col. i

.
]χομενα βοτάνης
] τῆν ἐπ' αὐτῆς δρόσον
 πρ]όσωπον καὶ χάριν
] ἐν τῆδε ἡμέρα μὴ λούση
 5]δοῦχε Πλούτωνος ἄνακτος
] Ζεὺς κύδιστε μέγιστε κ(αι)
] κ(αι) Ἑρμῆ Μαιάδος υἱὲ κ(αι) Ἥρα
 Ἀφρο]δείτη χαριτοδότειρα βαβραι
] μουσαι ερεοβαζαγρα
 10] . . χαρίτων ἀνάμεστοι διανα
] . . []ωρα δρόσον βάλλοντες
] . . γ ἄπ' Ὀλύμπου εἰς γαῖά <ν> δε
]φν . η καὶ ἀπὸ γαίης
]ος χέουσα οὕτως κἀγὼ
 15] . υ δρόσον χρεῖομαι τῶδε
] δωρήσατέ μοι χαριτήσια
] τῆν δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνος).
 (vac.)
] . κ(αι) σατὸν μὴ ἀγρυπνήσαι
] ἐπι]θεε τῆν ἀριστεράν σου

20 λ]έγε γ̄. λόγος·
] μήτηρ τ' ἀνθρώπων ν̄ανᾱ
] δός μοι τῶ δ(εῖνα) γλυκὺν ὕπνο[ν
] , γ γυνή ἢ ἀνὴρ λιπαρὰς κατ[
] θω αὐτῆ ὡς ὄφικ, ὡς κκολ. [
 25] . . .] . ᾱνα ὡς ὄφικ
] Φερρεφόνη τέλεσον τ[ελέαν ἐπαιοιδήν.]

8 l. Ἀφροδίτη.

10] . . , only mere specks at letter top level.

11] . . [, point at line-level; top and foot of an upright.

12] . . , first, horizontal level with the letter tops, from both ends of which two uprights descend, the second slightly concave (π?); second, top of an upright, probably ι.

13] φ υ . η , γ ? τ ?

14 Horizontal line-filler at end.

15] υ , top of a descender from right to left, thick enough to represent the junction of two strokes, i.e. η, υ, π or ligature with iota. l. χρίομαι.

17 ↑↑

18] . . , η or υ. l. αὐτόν.

22 ↑

24 κκολ. [, foot of an upright descending well below the line-level (ι, ρ, φ, ψ).

25] . . [, points of ink at mid-letter level on projecting fibres.

] . . ᾱνα, first, a point of ink level with the letter tops; second, the right part of the loop of ρ or base and second oblique of δ; instead of α, ε possible.

ὄφικ, cap of final c extended as filler-stroke.

Col. ii

[c. 14] . ρ πνιαδιο[
 δα . α[c. 8] ῑαν̄αι ν̄ε[
 βα[.] ις[c. 5] πρὸς τὴν δ(εῖνα) δ(εῖνος) τ[
 αὐτῆι [c. 5] . . . [.] κ(αἰ) ἀγρυνπ[ν-
 5 θας κ(αἰ) πα . . . ρος θές πρ . [
 μὴ ἐσθειοι . κ(αἰ) πεινώσα, μ[
 ἐγείρας κ(αἰ) γ̄ αὐτῆ[.] κλειναις[
 ναις δὲ ὁ δεῖνα ι[c. 4] . . . σω[
 λαμωι ὡς πα . [.] ε̄νονωδει[Κυπρο-]
 10 γένεια τέλειν τελέαν ἐπαιοιδήν. [
 πρὸ πάντω[ν ἀγρ]υπνητικ[ό]ν' [
 ἐπιθυοῦ[c. 5] αἰ[c. 7] . οτ . [
 καθ[c. 15] . . κα[
 ποιη[c. 6] . [

15 ———— κτήλη ὑπ[ν]ωτική. λόγος· [
 Βολχοσθη Παταθ Cηθ α . [
 ἐρηχι [α]ρ̄α αρραραρα κα[
 δαμαλ Cηθ Cηθ Βολχοσθη [
 καθευδέτωι ὁ δῖνα δ(εῖνος). [
 20 ———— φυλακτήρ[ι]ον. ἐὰν βούλη ἐξελλεῖν [
 λαβῶν [.] υν ὠμὸν ἔπαρον ζ̄ β[
 ἕως ἐ[ξ]έληθης κ̄αν εἰσελθη[ς
 λό[γος Αἰγ]υπτιοῦ ἀνακ̄ αγκ[
 α[c. 7] φ ανκ̄ ᾱμα ραλλ[
 25 [.] μ . νταφ μν μν[

2 δα . . α[, lower part of oblique descending from the right; then probably λ.

3 ↑↑

4] . . . [, possibly] . . οπ[.

6 ἐσθειοι . . , horizontal at top level having below, on the line, the foot of an upright (probably τ); then, perhaps right arc of a small circular letter, but very uncertain.

8] . . . σω[, scattered traces on damaged fibres, too confused for description; ζ very uncertain.

9 πα . [] ενον, after a point of ink at line-level.

12] . οτ . [, first, lower part of an upright with foot just turning to left; τ preferable, υ not excluded; then, point at line-level.

13] . . κα, faint traces of two uprights on prolonged fibres.

16 α . [, foot of an upright followed by a point at line-level (υ, π, γι, τι?).

19 l. καθευδέτω, δεῖνα ↑

25] . μ . , first, tops of two verticals; third, point level with the letter tops, below which the surface is damaged: possibly ι?

Recto, col. i

'... brave ... from Zeus, sender of rain ... [you opened] your eyes [and there was light, you closed] your eyes and [there was] darkness for all the images, for all the forms, for all the colours ... for all your ... Come to me, come to me, hurry, hurry, quick quick ... bleed NN daughter of NN this very day ... I know your names and your course in the sky, I know your forms too. You have a form among the quadruped animals, which is(?) the goat, your form among the sacred bird creatures is the phoenix, your form in the river is the black *laboo*, your form in the desert is the lion, your form on the earth is the scarab, your form among the plants is the sacred cardamum. Your city is Heliopolis. Dog-headed one(?), your name is eternity, your form among the quadrupeds is the bull, among the creeping things your name is the snake, your plant is the dill. The illustrious name because of you ... in the sky (is?) Olympus ... your name is: he who appears as Olympius, in the ... at sunset the living and the dead ... all and all the plants and all the wingless creatures and all the travellers and those who are below ground(?) in the water. From you we derive life. When you opened your eyes you created(?) light for every form, from which it (viz. every form) draws life. When you appear, all are joyful; when you set, death comes and darkness comes. All (share?) in your gifts. Your name is: Sun, child, holy, Titanus, brave, the greatest, he who appeared from Zeus sender of rain. Come to me and hearken to me benignly, and let the gods and goddesses hearken to me. This very day shatter and make bloodless NN, daughter of NN. If you don't do it, I will go to Phagropolis and into the house of Benben and to Heliopolis, and I will twist the bones of the sacred phoenix, the greatest, and every day I will pour true oil on the true emerald where your tomb is, and I will open the ... where lies Osiris, the greatest, in the inaccessible ... is shaken beneath him ... where the four dog-headed ones ...'

141 no. 36.3-4 'Du querst den Himmel, und jedes Gesicht schaut dich, (aber) dein Gang ist verborgen in ihrem Gesicht'; 210 no. 89.15-6; 216 no. 92.26 'man kann deinen Gang nicht erkennen'; 229 no. 97.39-40; 393 no. 192.5 'Du Hoher, dessen Lauf man nicht kennt'; 394-5 no. 193.1, 12.

8 οἶδα σου κ(αὶ) τὰς μορφάς. Cf. *Sonnenhymnen* 241 no. 173.6-7 'Ich kenne die Verwandlungen des Re, wenn er aufgeht'. For the Greek parallels, see 7-8 n. above. Also the true 'forms' of the god are not known; cf. *AHG* 393 no. 192.6 (also 394 no. 193.2) 'wie geheimnisvoll sind deine Erscheinungsformen!'; PGM VII 758-9 ... ἥς τῆν μορφήν οὐδὲ εἰς ἐπίσταται, XIII 69-70 (=580-1) ... οὐ οὐδέ τις θεῶν δύναται ἰδεῖν τῆν ἀληθινὴν μορφήν. There is a list of passages in Egyptian hymns in which reference is made to the various forms of the Sun in R. Merkelbach, *Abrasax* III 48.

8-17 Forms and names of the Sun. The section presents analogies and differences when compared with PGM III 499-536, IV 1648-95, XXXVIII 18-26, where the forms of the Sun are indicated in the twelve hours of the day, according to the system of the *dodekaōros* (on which see e.g. R. Merkelbach and M. Totti, *Abrasax* I 104 ff., II 2 ff.). In III 499-536, in particular, for every form of the Sun, corresponding to a quadruped, there is an associated plant, stone, bird and reptile and the god's secret name is indicated. A similar arrangement of the natural world is present also in **4468**, but given as constant and without change during the twelve hours. However, the arrangement seems less systematic and precise than in the parallel passages (two 'forms' among the quadrupeds: goat 9, bull 14). Other somewhat similar passages are PGM II 106-15 (the forms of the Sun in the four cardinal points; see W. Fauth, *Helios megistos: zur synkretistischen Theologie der Spätantike* (Leiden-New York-Cologne 1995) 43-4) and VIII 8-11 (the forms of Hermes-Thot in the four cardinal points).

9 ζώσις ἔστιν: at mid-height a lightly curved oblique stroke, perhaps the right part of a rounded letter. It appears in an area where there are traces from the original text on the papyrus, but the ink is very distinct. Against a reading ζώσις are both palaeography (the trace does not particularly favour *ι*, even if perhaps it does not exclude it; the extension of the top of sigma preceding suggests a word end) and language (dat. pl. in -οις is alien to the koine; see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae* I 388; one example is recorded in F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* II 23), besides the fact that we would have confused syntax. Perhaps *δ* ἔστιν? The resulting phrase however ('you have a form among the quadrupeds: it is the goat') seems unnatural.

τράγος. Cf. PGM IV 1671-2 (=XXXVIII 25) ὥρα ζ' μορφήν ἔχεις τράγου. The Sun at sunset (Atum) was imagined and represented as a goat or as an old man with a goat's head, in which form he made his nightly journey; see e.g. R. Merkelbach and M. Totti, *Abrasax* I 29-30, 79 (PGM XII 79), 153 (PGM XXI 25). For the solar associations of the goat, see W. Richmann, *Tiere in den Zauberpapyri* (typescript diss. Berlin 1946) 65-70.

9-10 ἐν τοῖς | ἰ[ε]ραῖς ζώσις ὀρνέσις. By ἰερά ζῷα are to be understood cult animals (cf. e.g. Josephus, *AJ* 13.66, 70, *Ap.* 1.239, 249, 263; *Iambl.*, *Myst.* 5.8; *Horap.* 1.35 (p. 80.4 Sbordone), etc.). ζώσις ὀρνέσις is an odd expression, for which however cf. *Aet.*, *Iatr.* 16.10.1 Zervos τὸ περὶ τὸν δεύτερον μῆνα κυμβατῶν ταῖς κνοῦσας πάθος κίττη ἀνόμαστα, ἐκ μεταφορᾶς ὀρνέσις τινὸς ζώου οὕτω λεγομένου. Perhaps we should see ὀρνέσις as in restrictive apposition to ἰεραῖς ζώσις, thus 'among the sacred animals, the birds' rather than 'among the sacred animal birds'.

10 'ἡ φοινῖξ. φοινῖξ is normally masculine (although the male sex of the bird was not undisputed; see R. van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix* (EPRO 24, 1972) 357-89); cf. also 31. On the other hand the raised eta, clear and distinct, seems to be by m', not from the washed-out text; and the 'anaphoric' article was required with a noun indicating a single individual. Interpretations of the letter other than as the article are unsatisfactory (η = εἰ? ἡ ἰμφί?).

φοινῖξ. Cf. *Horap.* 1.34 (p. 78.3 Sbordone) ἡλίου ἔστιν ὁ φοινῖξ κύμβολον; PGM II 104-6 (to the Sun) ὁ τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρνεον ἔχει ἐν τῇ στρολῇ ἐν τῷ εἰς πῖρος ἀπηλύοντῃ μέρεσιν τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης. The phoenix is the solar bird *par excellence*, in both Egyptian and Greek myth; see e.g. L. Kákossy, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV, s.v. Phönix, 1031-2; R. van den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix, passim*; W. Fauth, *Helios megistos* 45 with n. 58. For the phoenix as a sacred bird, cf. *Hdt.* 2.73.1 ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄρνις ἱρός, τῷ ὀνόματι φοινῖξ. See also 30-31 n. below.

11 ἀλάβης ὁ μέλας. *Labeo niloticus*, a fish very common in the Nile; see D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes* 9; I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten* (AgAbh 21, 1970) 9, 38. In F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* IX 9 (cf. H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* 210), in a similar context to ours, the black *labeo* (*lbs km*) appears linked with the moon god Chons 'thy fish of [the deep (?)] a black *labeo*'. The solar association in **4468** could support the identification,

entertained by D'Arcy W. Thompson, loc. cit., of the *labeo* with the mysterious fish *zhdw* sacred to Ra; but see I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische* 28 with n. 147, 38 n. 253. In the papyri *ἀλάβης* occurs in P. Col. IV 71.6, P. Mich. I 72.5-6, XVI **1857** 2, P. Tebt. III.1 701.41, P. Matrit. 9.6 (cf. D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 90 (1992) 279-80). ὁ μέλας. The papyrus is badly damaged. Cf. *φ* there is only part of the right side; of *λ* only the top of the right leg.

λέων. Cf. PGM IV 1667 (=XXXVIII 23) ὥρα ε' μορφήν ἔχεις λέοντος, III 511-2 ὥρα πέμπτη μ. ξ. λ. On the lion as a 'solar animal', see e.g. Th. Hopfner, *Offenbarungszauber* I § 461; W. Richmann, *Tiere in den Zauberpapyri* 59-65; R. Merkelbach and M. Totti, *Abrasax* I 119 (PGM IV 1667). Cf. PGM IV 939 = *lymn.* 3.1 (to the Sun) χαίρει, δράκων ἀκαμῆτε τε λέων.

12 κύνθαρος. Cf. PGM IV 1658-9 (=XXXVIII 21) ὥρα δ' μορφήν ἔχεις κύνθάρου; in LXI 36 the scarab is called εἰδάλων Ἥλιου. On the scarab as a 'form' of the Sun in the morning (Chepre) and a symbol of his eternal cycle, see e.g. R. Merkelbach and M. Totti, *Abrasax* II 73 (PGM III 207-8), with references.

ἐν τοῖς δένδροις. A similar distinction between trees (wood) and herbs (15 *βοτάνη*) in PGM VIII 12-3 ἡ βοτάνη του ἡλολλα εἰτεβεν θωητ' οἰδὰ σου καὶ τὸ ξύλον' τὸ ἐβεννίου.

καρδάμμων. The connection of the plant with the Sun is confirmed by PGM III 311 and 390, where it appears as an ingredient in the *bractis* of a *cύστασις πρὸς ἥλιον* ('union with the Sun').

13 ἡ πύ[λις] του Ἥλιούπολις ἔστιν. Cf. PGM VIII 13-4 οἰδὰ σε, Ἐρμῆ, τίς εἶ καὶ πόθεν εἶ, καὶ τίς ἡ πόλις σου Ἐρμούπολις.

κυνοκέφαλος. Either the name ('κυνοκέφαλος is your name, *αἴνι*!'; but in 15 and probably in 17 the name does not precede but follows *δνομά σοι*) or nominative for vocative ('κυνοκέφαλος, your name is *αἴνι*'), or, perhaps better, the remains of a longer phrase (e.g. '<your form among ... is the> κυνοκέφαλος, your name is *αἴνι*'). Cf. PGM III 501 ὥρα πρώτη μορφήν ἔχεις καὶ τύπον παιδὸς πύθικου; IV 1686-7 ὥρα ι' μορφήν ἔχεις κυνοκέφαλου. For the κυνοκέφαλος as a solar symbol, see W. Fauth, *Helios megistos* 76 and n. 242.

14 αἰών. For Helios-Aion, see *Suppl. Mag.* II 95 → 17 n.; I. Fauth, *Helios megistos* 74 ff. For the motif of the eternity of the Sun in Egyptian hymns, cf. e.g. R. Merkelbach, *Abrasax* III 47, 210.

ταῦρος. Cf. PGM III 509 ὥρα τετ[άρ]τη μορφήν ἔχεις ταύρου, IV 1676-7 (=XXXVIII 26) ὥρα η' μ. ξ. τ. The sacred bulls (Apis, Buchis, Mnevis) are all associated with the Sun. Cf. Macrobi., *Sat.* 1.21.20 *taurum* (the zodiacal sign) *vero ad solem referri multiplici ratione Aegyptius cultus ostendit*. See W. Richmann, *Tiere in den Zauberpapyri* 70-3.

15 [8]ϕις. Cf. PGM IV 1655-6 (=XXXVIII 20) ὥρα γ' μορφήν ἔχεις ὀφεις, 1637-8 cδ (Helios) εἰ δ μέγας ὀφεις (see R. Merkelbach and M. Totti, *Abrasax* I 117). Cf. also IV 939 (quoted above, n. on 11 λέων), and see W. Richmann, *Tiere in den Zauberpapyri* 30-43.

15-16 ἡ βοτάνη του ἀνηθον' τὸ ἐξ σοῦ ἐπιφραγὲς ὄνομα [c. 5]. *ρω σου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* Ὀλυμπιος. Difficult. A primary problem is whether to punctuate after *ἀνηθον* or after *ἐπιφραγὲς*. In neither case is it possible to propose a syntactically plausible supplement in 16, short of supposing a scribal omission (see 16 n. below). Punctuation after *ἀνηθον* seems preferable, also because the combination *ὄνομα ἐπιφραγὲς* is well attested (e.g. LXX *Chron.* i 17.21, *Mal.* 1.14; *Greg. Nyss.*, *Test. adv. Iud.* 18, *Migne* PG 46, 229C).

15 ἡ βοτάνη σου. Cf. PGM VIII 12 quoted above, 12 n. *ἀνηθον*. The association of dill with the Sun may perhaps be explained because the plant (*Eg. jmsf*), for its preserving qualities, became one of the four sons of Horus, Amset (see H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten* (Berlin 1956²) 92; also Bonnet, *Reallexikon* 26, s.v. Amset). Note on the other hand that in *Interpol. ad Ps. Apul.*, *Hebr.* 122, p. 297.3-4 Howald-Sigerist, a connection between dill and Apollo is established (*herba bona, sancta anethum, et te, Apollo sancte, quaeso obsecro, ut haec herba mihi in adiutorium sit etc.*).

τὸ ἐξ (l. ἐκ) σοῦ ἐπιφραγὲς ὄνομα. The sense is not altogether clear. *ἐκ σοῦ* indicates here origin ('the illustrious name derived from you') or cause, agent ('the name illustrious because of you')? Neither seems really satisfactory.

ἐξ σοῦ. For *κε* (in composition or word-junction) > *ξ*, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 141.

16 Cf. app. crit. If this last trace is significant, *γ* or *τ*; otherwise also *ε* is possible. E.g. ... ὄνομα [ἐν τῷ ὀ]γράφ <- - ἡ μορφή> σου ἐν κτλ; or ... ὄνομα [Σρω Σ]ῆρω <ἡ μορφή> σου ἐν κτλ (this last suggestion by R. Merkelbach).

Ὀλυμπιος. Cf. PGM I 305 ὀρκίζω κεφαλῇν τε θεοῦ, ὅπερ ἔστιν Ὀλυμπιος.

17 ὁ ἐπιφραγών. Intransitive (cf. LSJ s.v. II); of the sun and the stars in NT, *Act. Ap.* 27.20, 'the who appears', or also 'the shining one'. It is difficult to say if Ὀλύμπιος too is an *ὄνομα* ('your name is: he who appears, Olympius'; cf. 24-5 for more than one name after *δνομά σοι*) or if on the other hand it functions as

a predicate ('your name is: he who appears as Olympius'). The second hypothesis may be preferable because in Egyptian hymns to the Sun the expression 'you have appeared as X' is very common (e.g. *The Book of the Dead*, Spell 181 'you have appeared in glory like Re' (p. 180 Faulkner); other examples in *LL* 232-3). Also the 'Partizipialstil' could suggest that the phrase has an Egyptian origin (A. Barucq, *L'expression de la louange divine* 142-4, 150-2; Norden, *Agnostus Theos* 166-8, 201 ff.).

¹⁰ Ἀλῆμιος. The well-known identification Amon(Ra)-Zeus seems to be active here.

17-18 ἐν τῷ [c. 8.] [c. 6. Perhaps ἐν τῷ x δνομάx (cf. 14-5 ἐν τοῖς ἐρηπείοις δνομάx [δ]φικ), but the space does not seem enough for this and to provide a context for 18 δ]γμαιός. cf. also *Orph.h.* 78.10-11.

18 δ]γμαιός, of γ only the very end of the second arm. 'Sunset' or 'west'? Or is the reference to the region where the dead dwell, according to the Egyptian idea?

18-21 οἱ ζῶ[ντες]c... ἐν τοῖς ἔγγ[α]ν. The verb is missing, perhaps lost in the damaged area at the beginning of 19 (the beginning of 18 is unlikely); as a result, the overall interpretation of the passage remains conjectural. Comparison with Egyptian hymns suggests two possibilities: (a) homage of the universe to the Sun (i.e. the various creatures awake, rejoice, begin their work, honour and praise the god, and so on); (b) a list of the beings that the Sun has created and to which the Sun provides life every day; cf. *ÄHG* 567. Against (b) should count the presence of 20 δδ]οιστοροδ]ντες], which fits very well on the other hand in (a) (see 20 n. below). δδ]οιστοροδ]ντες] again, for the same reasons, makes one doubt that the sentence ran uninterrupted as far as ἐχομε[ν] (21), and that this was the verb, with a change from the third to the first person plural. Comparisons with Egyptian hymns put forward in the notes following that relate to this passage have been made on the assumption that (a) should be the correct interpretation.

For perhaps the most vivid description in the Egyptian hymns of the reactions of the world to the rising Sun see *ÄHG* 217-8 no. 92.40-58. Cf. also the other passages listed in *Rud* 128-30, and see A. Barucq, *L'expression de la louange divine* 204 ff. Something similar is found in PGM IV 1611-5 ἀνεθαλεν ἡ γῆ κοῦ ἐπιλάμψαντος καὶ ἐκαρποφορέεν τὰ φυτὰ κοῦ γελιάωντος, ἐξωγοῖνσε τὰ ζῶα κοῦ ἐπιτρέφάντων. Cf. also *Orph.h.* 78. 10-11.

18 ἀφανίζόμενοι. To describe the dead in this way is not idiomatic, although we may compare Job. Chrys., *Fragm.* in Job II, Migne PG 64, 561B τοὺς ἀφανίζόντας. For the motif of the dead who awake during the nightly journey of the Sun and pay homage, cf. e.g. *ÄHG* 405 no. 195.231-2 'Die Bewohner der Unterwelt umringen dich mit Preisungen, die Lebenden verneigen sich vor deinem Aufgang' (the living and the dead as in our passage), and see *Rud* 131.

19 Cf. app. crit. One would expect πάντες, but palaeography does not recommend it.

κ[(α)] δὲνδρη πάντα. Cf. *ÄHG* 158 no. 49.16, 215 no. 91.57-9, 217 no. 92.47, 313 no. 132.13-4, 402 no. 195.159-60, 405 no. 195.236.

20 δ]πτερα. We would rather expect a reference to winged creatures, cf. the birds in *ÄHG* 215 no. 91.61-5, 217 no. 92.48-9, 313 no. 132.18. Against πτερω[τὰ] is the loss of a letter before π, while ω cannot be read. This also excludes δ]πτερω[μένα] (for τὰ πτερωμένα='the winged creatures', cf. e.g. S.E., *Eryth.* 1.50). Perhaps τὰ πτερωτά or τὰ πτερά vel sim. lost in lacuna in 19 before π[ά]ντα? (but the verb? see above 18-21 n. init.)

οἱ δδ]οιστοροδ]ντες] πάντες. In the Egyptian hymns to the Sun the motif of the roads that the light makes passable for mankind is very frequent; cf. e.g. *ÄHG* 218 no. 92.55, 210 no. 89.12 'der auf den Wegen mit Millionen unter seiner Leitung', 397 no. 195.8 'Bist du nicht Lenker auf [jedem] Wege?', 405 no. 195.245 'du hast alle Geschöpfe aufgeweckt und ihnen die Wege geöffnet'; see also 56 with n. 32; *Rud* 108-9, 110, 136. 20-1 οἱ ἴσο[ι]. γοντες ἐν τοῖς ἔγγ[α]ν. A reference to fish (cf. *ÄHG* 218 no. 92.56-8, 313 no. 132.15-6)? If a single word is divided between 20 and 21, I am at a loss (ἴσο[δ]ί]γοντες seems inappropriate). Perhaps ἴσο[δ]ί]γοντες? If so, understanding ἐν τῷ ἔγγ[α]ν as 'in the damp', a periphrasis for worms (mentioned in *ÄHG* 97 no. 1.6, 203 no. 87E.118, 224 no. 95.10, 246 no. 108.22)?

21 ἐξοῦ (i.e. ἐκ κοῦ; I consider ἐν τοῖς ἔγγ[α]ν], ἐξ οὔ improbable) τὸ ζῆν ἐχομε[ν]. Cf. *ÄHG* 4.16 no. 200.13-5 'Jedes Gesicht lebt vom Anblick deiner Schönheit, aller Same entsteht, wenn du sie bestrahlst. Keiner ist, der ohne dich leben kann!', 221 no. 92.125-7 'Die Erde entsteht auf deinen Wink, wie du sie geschaffen hast: du gehst auf für sie—sic leben, du gehst unter, sie sterben. Du bist die Lebenszeit selbst, man lebt durch dich'; *LL* 315 (III 4.6) 'er geht auf: aufliebt die Menschheit' (and cf. the parallels on p. 321); on the motif of the Sun as life, see *Rud* 113 ff. We find it in Greek too: cf. e.g. Aesch., *Ag.* 633 τὸν τρέφοντος 'Ἠλιὸν χροῖδος φύει; *Orph.h.* 8.12 φερέθειε, 18 ζωῆς φῶς; CH 16. 12 (II 235.25 N.-F.) προφείε ἐκτι παντός γένους ὁ ἥλιος, etc. (see Roscher I.2 2021-2; K. Keyßner, *Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung im griechischen Hymnus* (Stuttgart 1932) 148-9).

ἐξοῦ. For κc (in composition or word-junction) > ξ, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 139 40. ἐκ κοῦ of the god is frequent in Greek hymns; see K. Keyßner, *Gottesvorstellung* 29.

τὸ ζῆν. τὸ ζῆν as equivalent to ζωῆ is idiomatic: cf. LSJ, s.v. ζῶν, I; Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. [ζῶω], 1aa; Moulton-Milligan, s.v. ζῶω. A sense 'means of sustenance' (cf. e.g. Dittenberger, OGIS II 515.57 τὸ ζῆν οὐκ ἐχομεν) is less likely.

21-2 ἀνοίξας [τῶν]c ὀφθαλμοῦς ἐπ[ι]... ac τὸ φῶς πάσης μορφῆς ἐξ οὔ ζῆν. There are two possibilities for the supplement in 22: (a) the sequence ἐπ[ι]... ac is composed of the preposition ἐπ[ι] and a noun, indicating the place or the object on which the Sun opens his eyes 'when you open your eyes on - -', the light lives because of you (ἐξοῦ=ἐκ κοῦ, cf. 21) for every form'; the reference would be to the sunlight's daily rhythm. But I can think of no suitable noun (ἐπ[ι] γῆ]c will not do); and φῶς ζῆ is difficult. Otherwise, (b) the sequence conceals a verb (second person, past tense) meaning 'to create, produce' vel. sim., i.e. 'when you opened your eyes, you created the light for every form, from which (the light) it (the form) lives'; the reference would be to the first moment of the creation of light. ἐπ[ι]οῦ]c]ac satisfies space, traces and sense. (b) is unobjectionable at least as far as πάσης μορφῆς, with some harshness in the conclusion ἐξ οὔ ζῆν (or, with a slight insertion, ... πάσης μορφῆς ἡ) ἐξοῦ (l. ἐκ κοῦ) ζῆ; for ζῶω ἐκ cf. Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. [ζῶω] 1c). If (b) is on the right lines, a close parallel is *ÄHG* 265 no. 122.8-10 'Du öffnest deine Augen, daß du sehest mit ihnen, und es entstand das Licht für jedermann durch den Glanz deiner Augen etc.'. Cf. also, again referring to the moment of creation, the following three passages: (i) Ddhr Statue, l. 81 'qui a illuminé les Deux Terres de ses yeux' (transl. S. Sauneron and J. Yoyotte, *La naissance du monde selon l'Égypte ancienne*, in: *La naissance du monde* (Sources Orientales 1, 1959) 55; but E. Jelinková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-her-le-sauveur* (BdE 23, 1956) 42 translates 'qui illumine'); (ii) the dedicatory inscription of Ptolemy VIII on the second pylon at Karnak 'Il [i.e. the creator god] éclaira les terres par ses deux Yeux' (transl. É. Drioton, *ASAE* 44 (1944) 117; also in S. Sauneron and J. Yoyotte, *La naissance du monde* 70 (no. 28A)); (iii) Esna III, 206, 2 'Elle [i.e. Neith] rendit lumineux les regards de ses yeux, et la clarté fut' (transl. S. Sauneron, *Les fêtes religieuses d'Esna aux derniers siècles du paganisme* (Esna V), Cairo 1962, 254). More in general, for the light as the 'glance' of the Sun, see *ÄHG* 56 and n. 34.

23-4 [ἐ]ὰν φανῆς... κῶτος γίνετα. The resemblance to Egyptian hymns is here very close, both in form and content: short phrases in parallel with the correspondence dawn~joy (life), sunset~death (darkness); cf. e.g. *ÄHG* 221 no. 92.126-7 'du gehst auf für sie—sie leben, du gehst unter, sie sterben'.

[ἐ]ὰν φανῆς Ἰαροῖ γίν[ο]νται πάντες. Cf. A. Barucq and F. Daumas, *Hymnes et prières de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris 1980) 440 no. 130.2 'lorsque tu te lèves, les hommes exultent à ton éclat' (hymn to Hathor, here assimilated to Raet, female doublet of Ra). More often in these formulas the reference is to life: cf. e.g. *LL* 315 (III 4.6) and parallels (see above 21 n.); see also the preceding note.

Ἰαροῖ. For the motif of the joy which spreads at the appearance of the Sun in Egyptian hymns, see e.g. S. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 53 (1953) 80-1; A. Barucq, *L'expression de la louange divine* 216.

ἐὰν δύνῃς θάνατος γίνετα (καὶ) κῶτος γίνετα. Cf. *ÄHG* 212 no. 90.12-3 'Gehst du unter in deinem Lichtland, dann liegt die Erde in geballter Finsternis', 221 no. 92.127 (cited above, 21 n.), 326 no. 143.117 'wenn du untergehst, entsteht Finsternis', 167 no. 58.42-5 'Der untergeht im westlichen Lichtland und Finsternis verbreitet über dem ganzen Land, das Licht entsteht bei deinem Hervorkommen, die Finsternis, wenn du zur Ruhe gehst in deinem Hause'; *Rud* 141-2 'Gehst du unter im westlichen Lichtland ist die Erde in Finsternis in der Verfassung des Todes ... Die Finsternis ist ein Grab'. For the motif, see *ibid.*, 141-3; also *LL* 180-1.

δύνῃς. Aorist (cf. φανῆς). For aor. ἐδύνα in later Greek, see Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. δύνω.

24 τῶν ἀγαθῶν 'ν' σου πάντες. The scribe omitted the verb (<μετέχουσι>?). Alternatively: (a) καὶ κῶτος γίνετα τῶν ἀγαθῶν σου πάντες (l. πάντων); (b) καὶ κῶτος γίνετα τῶν ἀγαθῶν σου' (<- -) πάντες. For the ἀγαθά of the gods, see e.g. P. Turner 10.2 n.; K. Keyßner, *Gottesvorstellung* 158-60.

25 νήπιος. The Sun in the morning, according to the Egyptian idea: see *Rud* 65 with n. 39; König 38 with n. 2; *ÄHG* 295 no. 129.37 'Er [entstand?] als ein Kind', 308 no. 131.21-22 'Der Greis, der am Morgen als Jüngling aufsteht...' and see 554, no. 88 n. 14. Cf. PGM II 119 ὁ νήπιος ἀνατέλλων, III 153-4 ὁ νήπιος, ὁ ἀνατέλλ[ω]ς, XII 79 cδ (Eros-Harpocrates-Horos) εἰ ὁ νήπιος, also I 33, VII 516, XXXVI 218-9. PGM II 106-7 ἐ]χαις ἐν τοῖς πρὸς βορρᾶ μέρεσι μορφὴν νηπίου παιδὸς ἐπὶ λωτῷ καθήμενον refers on the other hand to the beginning of the yearly course of the Sun at the winter solstice (see H. G. Gundel, *Weltbild und Astrologie in den griechischen Zauberpapyri* (Munich 1968) 7).

τ[ι]πάτος (l. τετάνος). A Greek clement: Helios is son of Titan Hyperion (cf. Hes., *Theog.* 374 and West's

note on 134). *τιτάνιος* seems not to occur elsewhere with reference to Helios (but cf. *Titanius* of the Sun in Man. I 869 and Avien., *Anat.* 127, 1063). Frequently, on the other hand, in late texts Helios is indicated by *Τιτάν*, for the Greek texts, see C. F. H. Bruchmann, *Epitheta doorum* 148 and cf. PGM II 86, III 210, XXIII 5; for the Latin texts, I. B. Carter, *Epitheta doorum* 93. See W. Kranz, *Philologus* 105 (1961) 290 ff.; W. Fauth, *Helios megistos* 42 n. 42.

ἄλκυμος. Of Helios in PGM III 134–5, IV 1601, 1696.

μεγιστος. Of Helios in PGM III 218, IV 640, 1598, VII 529; CH 5.3 (I 61.11–2 N-F.).

25–6 ὁ ἐπιφανείς ἐκ τοῦ ἡμβρίου Διός (cf. 2). The sense is not immediately obvious. Is the background Egyptian or Greek? That the phrase should mean simply that the sun appears in the sky after the rain clouds have cleared would be too banal. An Egyptian background is more promising, I think. I offer two hypotheses, but they remain highly speculative.

I. 1) According to cosmogony developed at Thebes in the Ramesside period (and attested in the hymn to Amon-Ra in the Leiden papyrus J 350, III 22–7) the creation of the world took place by means of a three-stage process: (i) in the beginning there is the Ogdoad, the eight primitive gods, who impersonate primordial Chaos and in whom Amon is present but hidden, as a hypostasis of their unity; (ii) Amon takes the form of Tatenen (the primitive hill which emerges from the 'Urwasser'); (iii) the god goes away into the sky where he remains as the Sun, Ra (see *Rud* 223–4; S. Sauneron and J. Yoyotte, *La naissance du monde* 68 (26c)). Ra is therefore the manifest and successive form of Amon, 'The Hidden One', his appearance an epiphany of the hidden god. 2) Amon, whom the Greeks identified with Zeus (Cook, *Zeus* I 348 ff.), sometimes appears connected with rain (see A.-P. Zivie, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V, s.v. Regen, 203).

II. According to a different cosmogony the Sun rose the first time out of the primeval ocean, Nun (see c.g. S. Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Engl. transl., Ithaca 1973) 179–80); a process repeated every morning from then on. Nun is identified with the Nile (see c.g. D. Bonnaue, *La crue du Nil* 143 ff.). The inundation of the Nile is often assimilated to the rain (cf. *δμβρος* and the like to indicate the flood; see D. Bonnaue, op. cit. 130 n. 1) and the Nile itself to Zeus, in his capacity as the god of rain (see D. Bonnaue, op. cit. 316 ff.). The phrase ὁ ἐπιφανείς κατὰ would refer to the original/daily appearance of the Sun from the 'Urwasser' (→ Nile → Zeus).

Zeus ἡμβριος is mentioned also in PGM IV 2981, in a spell for picking a plant, where the plant is addressed as follows (2978–82): ἐπαρῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κρόνου, συνελήμφθης ὑπὸ τῆς Ἥρας, διετηρήθης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄμμωνος, ἐτέχθης ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰσίδος, ἐτράφης <ἐπ'> ἡμβρίου Διός (the rain or the water of the Nile?), ηἰξήθης ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἥλιου καὶ τῆς ὀρέου, but this passage does not help to explain 4468.

26 ἦκέ μοι. See 5 n. above.

26–7 ἐπάκουσόν μου | ... ἐπακουσάτωσάν μοι. The change of case, at so short an interval, is noteworthy (but the confusion between *μου* and *μοι* is frequent, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 215 n. 1). Both constructions with *ἐπακούω* are regular; see E. Maysner, *Grammatik* II.2 207–8.

27 ἰλαρός. Here 'benign', 'friendly', as often in late Greek; see Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, s.v., *sub fin.*, and cf. PGM IV 1041–2 εἰσελθε, φάνηθί μοι, κύριε, ἰλαρός, εὐμενής, πραῆς κατὰ, V 415–8 σὴ μορφῆ ἰλαρός τε φάνηθί ἰλαρός τ' ἐπίτελλον ἀνθρώπων ὁσὼ μορφῆν θ' ἰλαρὰν ἐπίτελλον ἔμοις also III 256, 307, IV 1607, XIII 604, 608. On the motif of the favourable god, see K. Keyßner, *Gottesvorstellung* 87–98; H. S. Versnel, *ZPE* 58 (1985) 260–1. ἐπακουσάτωσάν μοι οἱ θεοὶ (καὶ) αἱ θεαί. Formal and preterpitory, as Zeus in Hom., II. 8.5, 19.101 and Hera in [Hom.], *h. Ap.* 311 κέκλυτέ μεν πάντες τε θεοὶ πάσαι τε θέαιναί.

28 ἔξαιμον ποίησον. For ἔξαιμον ποιεῖν, cf. Agath. *apud* Phot., *Bibl.* 250, 453a.13 (VII 168 Henry), 455a.37–8 (VII 174 Henry).

29 ἦτ. See 6 n. above.

29 ff. Threats against the god. Such coercion is a well-known motif of magic *logoi*: see *ZPE* 114 (1996) 28 n. 8.

ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ποιήσῃτε. For this absolute use of *ποιέω*, cf. PGM IV 2907–8 διὰ ποίησον, ἄνασσα, ἰκετῶ, 3245 ποίει, XIII 820 θεέ, ποίησον, κύριε. See *ZPE* 107 (1995) 297–8.

εἰς Φάγγρον πόλιν. Clearly the city in the eastern Delta mentioned in Strab. 17.1.26, C805 as *Φαγγροπόλις*, in XI 1380 46–7 as *Φαγγούρων πόλις*, in Steph. Byz., *Etbn.* 654. 10 Meineke (from Alex. Polyb., FGrH 273F11) as *Φαγγρόριον*, and as *Phagorion* in Anon. Ravenn. III 2, p. 130. 9 Pinder-Parthey for the problems connected with the identification and the location of the site, see the discussion by G. Bastianini and R. Coles in LX 4063–4067 introd., 146–8). 4468 is of interest as showing clearly that the toponym was felt as connected with the name of the fish that was sacred there (*φαγγρόριος*, ὄν καὶ φάγγρον καλοῦσιν, Strab.

17.2.4, C823), whatever its true etymology (from Egyptian *Pr-qrr* 'house of the frog' according to some; see W. Helck, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV, s.v. Phagroriopolis, 1017; but see the critical comments of I. Gamber-Wallert, *Fische* 103).

According to Gamber-Wallert the phagros was venerated in Phagro(rio)polis as a manifestation of Ra (*Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, s.v. Fische, religiös, 232; IV, s.v. Phagros, 1017). This hypothesis seems to find some support in our papyrus, which establishes a connection between the locality and Ra. The threat of going to Phagro(rio)polis is then on the same lines as that of going to Heliopolis and the 'house of Benben' (see the following note), all cult places of the god, in which to carry out impious acts against him. Alternatively, but less probably: Plutarch, *De Is.* 358B, gives a version of the myth of Osiris according to which the lepiditous, phagrus and oxyrhynchus fishes devoured the phallus of Osiris when it was thrown into the Nile by Seth. The sorcerer could then threaten to go to Phagro(rio)polis to venerate an enemy of Osiris (Ra). But this passage is isolated and idiosyncratic: see Gamber-Wallert, *Fische* 93–5; Griffiths, ad loc.

30 ἄβωνβον. W. Clarysse suggests (*per litt.*) a transcription of the Egyptian *hwt-bnbn* (for *hwt* rendered in Greek by ἄ-, see W. Clarysse and J. Quaegebeur, *Symb. Ost.* 57 (1982) 78–9), 'the house of Benben', the *sancta sanctorum* of the solar temple at Heliopolis (see E. Otto, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, s.v. Benben-Haus, 695). The 'corpse' of Ra lay there (cf. 33 οὐ ἐστὶν σου ὁ τάφος): cf. e.g. *AHG* 286 no. 127B. 161–3 'erschienen in Theben, ruhend in Heliopolis. Das Obeliskenhaus ist geheiligt, deinen Leib zu verbergen'; and see *LL* 85–6 with n. 38; *Sonnenhymnen* 213–4 (n); *Rud* 89 n. 138. The 'house of Benben' at Heliopolis was also called the 'house of the Phoenix': here the sorcerer threatens to 'twist the bones of the sacred phoenix, the greatest' (30–1).

30–1 ἐτρήβω τα δὲτὰ τοῦ ἁγίου φοίνικος μεγίστου. The closest parallel, to my knowledge, is the Egyptian papyrus in Geneva MAH 15274, verso V 4 (ed. A. Massart, *MDAIK* 15 (1957) 184) '[and I shall cause (?)] the feet of the Phoenix which is in the land [to be bound (?)]'. For the phoenix as a solar bird, see 10 n. above. In 4468 the reference could be to the bones of the corpse of the old phoenix from which the new was reborn (thus in one of the two principal versions of the Greek-Latin myth; cf. particularly Plin., *N.H.* 10.4 *ex ossibus deinde et medullis eius nasci primo ceu vermicultum, inde fieri pullum*). If so, given that the rebirth of the young phoenix from the remains of the old one symbolises the eternal and rhythmic course of time (of the day, the month, the year, and more extensive cycles), the threat not only represents an act of sacrifice but would have a cosmic significance.

φοίνικος μεγίστου. Cf. 'the great phoenix' in *The Book of the Dead*, Spell 17 (p. 44 Faulkner), 125 (p. 31 Faulkner).

31–2 καὶ ἐπιχεῶ ἔλαιον ἀληθινὸν | καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὸ(ν) ἀληθινὸν ἐμάραινον: evidently an act of imparity. 'Mit "Smaragd" ist vielleicht das aufgründende Osiris-Bett gemeint, der Korn-Osiris. Wenn man darauf Öl schüttet, dann werden die Keime vernichtet' (R. Merkelbach, *per litt.*). I. Assmann (*per litt.*) observes that the passage 'klingt eher nach einer frommen Handlung (Salbung) als nach einer Tabu-Verletzung'. But also in PGM LVII 6–7 the sorcerer affirms, if his requests are granted, καὶ [ο]ὐκ [ἐ]πιχεῶ τὴν κεδρίαν, [ἐλλ'] ἐδάς (differently R. Merkelbach and M. Totti, *Abrasax* II 92 and 95).

ἔλαιον ἀληθινὸν ... ἀληθινὸν ἐμάραινον. The conjunction *ἔλαιον ἀληθινὸν* is not idiomatic (in a metaphorical sense in Macar., *Serm.* 28.1.7 [I 257.8 Berthold]), and to recover the known *ἔλαιον ἀληθινόν* (Gal., *Simpl. med. fac.* 2.12, 5.19 (XI 489.15, 766.6 K.); Aet., *latr.* 4.42 (CMG VIII.1 386.7), etc.) would need only minimal change. Nevertheless, in all likelihood this is a literal rendering of the Egyptian *m3'* (cf. F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *DMP* V, VI 2, 8, XII 2, XX 18, 21, 22, XXV 12, etc.); for the expression in Coptic, *ne2 mme*, see W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* 157a, 240b; W. C. Till, *Die Arzeneikunde der Kopten* (Berlin 1951) 81). The same probably applies to *ἀληθινὸς ἐμάραινος* (for *m3'* used of precious stones, cf. Grapow, *Wb.* II 13; C. Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London 1990) 42, 47, 52), even if *ἀληθινός* is not inappropriate for gemstones (cf. Athen. 5.205 f). This may lead us to suspect that at least this portion may have been composed or translated into Greek by an Egyptian.

33 οὐ ἐστὶν σου ὁ τάφος. For the tomb of Ra in Heliopolis, see 30 n. above.

ἀνέξω (l. ἀνέξω). A very frequent spelling in papyri (see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 198).

33–4 καὶ ἀνέξω τα. [c. 9] οὐ οὐ κέτρα | δὲ μέγιστος Ὀσερις (l. Ὀσερις). The defiling of the corpse of Osiris is a frequent threat: cf. J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Text* 1 no. 1 *sub fin.* 'If they fail to make her come after me I will set <fire> to Busiris and burn up <Osiris>' (the same threat also in 69 no. 92, 77 no. 105; A. Massart, *MDAIK* 15 (1957) 184); F. Lexa, *La magie dans l'Égypte antique* II (Paris 1925) 53 (VII) 'Je réduirais Ousirew en cendres'; Audollent, *DT* 270.21–4 *si minus, descendo in adytus Osiris et dissolvam τὴν*

παθῆν ἐι μίτταν υι α σφίμπε σφάται; PGM V 269 ἡ ὑποκαίω δεσπῆ Ἐσερως, XIV 12–5, LVII 2–8; Iamb. *Myst.* 6.5 (...) τὰ μέλη τοῦ Ὀκρίδος διασκέδασει τῷ Τυφῶνι.

73 [c. 9] ον, the trace suggests γ or ν or π. Two probable points: (a) the object of ἀνοίξω is 'tomb' or sim.; (b) ἀπλάτω[ι] recalls the inaccessibility of the *abaton* (cf. below, 34 n.). Along these lines, e.g. τὸν [ἱερὸν τάφον] ([πρεβόλιον] W. Clarysse, *per litt.*) οὐ κείται δὲ μέγιστος Ὀσειρις ἐν τῷ ἀπλάτω[ι] τόπω (μεγάρον, ἀδύτων) κ[α]ί etc. A tomb of Osiris in Heliopolis does not create difficulty, given that almost every nome in Egypt boasted of having the god's tomb or a reliquary (see Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, s.v. Reliquien, 637; H. Beilich, *Die 'Oisirreligium'* (AgAbb 42, 1984) *passim*, 314–5; in particular for Heliopolis, see H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris* (Copenhagen 1927) 76; and the location of such a tomb was always an *abaton* (see E. Winter, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I*, s.v. Abaton, 1).

34 μέγιστος. Of Osiris in PGM III 440. ἀπλάτω[ι]. The papyrus is badly damaged at the beginning of the word, but the reading is not seriously in doubt; certainly not ἄββατω[ι]. When ἀπλάτος occurs in late prose, it is normally equivalent to ἀπλετος 'imminent', but here the original sense of 'unapproachable' seems required (cf. Plut., *De Is.* 20, 359B ἄββατον ἄπαι καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον, of the island of Bigch near Philae, location of the tomb of Osiris; and see H. Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* (DAWW, phil.-hist. Kl. 56, 1913) 22, 31, 71–2, 76, 80).

35 ὁ Ζευ[ς] Zeus-Ammon? 35–7 ο[ι] τέσσαρες κιννοκέφ[αλοι c. 15] ὄντες | αὐτῶν. Four (or groups of four) is usually the number of baboons in figurative representations of the rising of the Sun (see e.g. *König* 28 and n. 3; also *LL* 211 and n. 106). But their function here is obscured by the lacunas and the uncertainty over identification of 37 αὐτῶν. R. Merkelbach, e.g. (*per litt.*): οὐ ὁ τέσσαρες κιννοκέφ[αλοι] κήθηται οἱ διατη[ροῦντες] αὐτῶν.

37 ἐξάφε[] . . . a form of ἐξαφήμι? or ἐξ (cf. 36 τέσσαρες) and a form of ἀνάμι?

Col. ii

7 ἐν τῇ σῆ[μερον] ἡμέρα?

12 Probably a form of αὐτή.

19 Probably a form of κίνθαρος or κίνεον.

21 ωστνε. ὤστ' ἄνε? (-)ὄστ τὰ νε? ὤστ' ἄν ε? -ωστ τ' ἄν ε? -?

24 ἐφήμε[], probably ἐφ' ἡμέ[ρας]; cf. PGM LII 11 ἐφ' ἡμέρας γ'.

26 ἐπαδῆν. On the *epode* see F. Pfister, *RE Suppl.* IV 323–44.

27 κανθαρο[ι]. A form of κίνθαρος.

30 Possibly = Νεστῆρ, a nome in the eastern Delta; see Calderini-Daris, *Diç. geogr.* III 345.

Verso, col. i

1–17 Remains of a *charition*, a spell to acquire attractiveness (on this kind of spell, see C. A. Faraone, *Phoixis* 44 (1990) 224–7; J. J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Eros*, in C. A. Faraone and D. Obbink (edd.), *Magika Hiera* 218–20; R. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets I* (Pap. Colon. XXII.1, 1994) 356–60). A list of *charitiesia* in Greek papyri in W. M. Brashear, *ANRW* II 18.5, 3502. Content: 1–4 *praxis*: the petitioner is probably advised to collect the dew from a specific plant, to bathe with it and not to wash for that day. 5–17 *logos*: various divinities (Persephone, Zeus, Hermes, Hera, Aphrodite) are invoked, who are asked to grant *charis*, the means of obtaining it being the dew sent by the gods to earth and with which the petitioner has bathed. Half hexameters (5, 6, 7) and sequences of various lengths in which a dactylic rhythm is recognisable (10, 11, 12, 13, 16), together with epic vocabulary (12 γαῖά(ν)δε, 13 γαίης), allow us to glimpse behind the *logos* an original hymn in hexameters. If, as is likely, Ζεὺς κούδτε μέγιστε κ(α) (6) was at verse-beginning and κ(α) Ἐρημῆ Μαϊάδος υἱέ (7) at verse-end and if the two half lines were part of two complete hexameters, the width of col. i verso ought to have been c. 20 cm.

2 ἐπ' αὐτῆς. Probably the plant mentioned in the preceding line. δρόσον. Dew does not occur as a surprise in a *charition*, associated as it was with fertility, generativity and vitality (for the Greek tradition, cf. D. Boedeker, *Descent from Heaven. Images of Dew in Greek Poetry and Religion* (Chico 1984) *passim* (54–60 erotic implications); for the Egyptian one, see J. de Savignac, *Nouveau Clio* 6 (1954) 345–53). In the folklore of many peoples the belief is widespread that bathing with dew increases one's beauty; see Cook, *Zeus* III 165 with n. 3; *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens I* 824, VIII 691.

3 πρῶστων καὶ χάρων. If the two nouns are coordinated, perhaps καλὸν πρῶστων: cf. PGM VIII 4–5 δὲς μοι χάρων ... πρῶστων εἶδος; also *Suppl. Mag.* II 72 ii 10–1 n. Otherwise πρῶστων will indicate the part of the body to be bathed with the dew.

χάρων: for the meanings of χάρις in the magical papyri, see A. D. Nock, *PBA* 17 (1931) 259–60. Here 'charm', 'attractiveness'.

4 ἐν τῇδε ἡμέρα. For the omission of the article, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* II 174; L. Radermacher, *Neutestamentliche Grammatik* 113.

μη λούση. Probably: after bathing with the dew, let it act and do not wash for that day.

5 ἴδουε Πλούτωνος ἄνακτος. End of a hexameter. E.g. δεῖρ' ἴθι νῦν, ὦ κλειδοῦχε κτλ or ἰαθί μοι, εὖ or Περσεφόνη, μολε δεῖδοῦχε or χάρις, θεά, μόλε etc.

ἴδουε. The reference to Persephone reduces the possibilities to κλειδοῦχε and δεῖδοῦχε. For the first, cf. PGM IV 1403–4 παρθένε, κλειδοῦχε Περσεφόσσα, Ταρτάρου κόρη; and see *RE* XI.1, s.v. Kleiduchos, 598.11–5 (H. Kohl); in PGM IV 2293, 2335, VII 785, LXX 10 and *Suppl. Mag.* I 49.57 the key is indicated as κύμβολον of Hecate-Persephone-Selene (for Hecate (= Persephone) κλειδοῦχος, see e.g. *RE* XI.1 598.23–50 (H. Kohl); VII.2 2773.41–63 (J. Heckenbach); S. I. Johnston, *Hekate Soteira* (Am. Class. St. 21, 1990) 39–48). For δεδοῦχος, cf. PGM IV 2559 (= *hymn.* 20.32) and 2718 (= *hymn.* 21.4) of Hecate-Persephone-Selene; also *Apb. Anth.* I 266c.5 Κούρης ἀδελφάρου; Eur., *Phaeth.* 268 εὖ δ' ὦ πυρὸς ἑσπεῖα Δῆμητρος κόρη, with Diggle's note.

Πλούτωνος ἄνακτος. The genitive will be governed by a noun such as δάμαρ *vel sim.*: cf. Call. fr. 285 Pf. Κλυμένην ... πολυεύξειον δάμαρτα; *Orph.* h. 29.3 Πλούτωνος πόστμτε δάμαρ; *Lasus* 702 PMG (ἄλοχος); Eur., *Alc.* 746 (νύμφη), etc.

6 Ζεὺς κούδτε μέγιστε κ(α). Cf. Hom. *Il.* 3.298 Ζεὺς κούδτε μέγιστε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι. For Ζεὺς κούδτε μέγιστε, cf. *L.* 2.412; Hes., *Theog.* 548; *Orph.* fr. T 245 Kern, all at verse-beginning.

7 κ(α) Ἐρημῆ Μαϊάδος υἱέ. Cf. the metrically equivalent Hom., *Od.* 14.435 καὶ Ἐρημῆ Μαϊάδος υἱέ, at verse-end. For Μαϊάδος υἱέ at verse-end, cf. [*Hom.*], h. *Herm.* 301, 408, 439 etc.; *Orph.* h. 28.1; *Anth. Pal.* 6.346.1 (Anacreon).

κ(α) Ἥρα. If at verse-beginning, hiatus (rare) after καὶ (cf. below, 13 n.).

8 χαριτοδότερα. Cf. XI 1300 10 χαριτοδότερα of Isis; cf. also χαριδότης of Aphrodite in *Orph.* h. 55.9.

βαβραι. Cf. PGM LXII 34 βαβρωθι.

9 μουκai. Cf. PGM IV 1625–6 μουκουθι, VII 305 μουσαθι.

ερεοβαλατρα. Usually written ορ-, a component of the *Μακελλι- logos*; for the occurrences, see PGM, Vol. 3 (Index) 228, 241 and *Suppl. Mag.* II, p. 332 (Index VIII). For the meaning, see especially Zs. Ritoók, *Achtung* 26 (1978) 439.

10 χαρίτων ἀνάμεστος. The invoked gods? For the conjunction χαρίτων ἀνάμεστος, cf. Ael., *V.H.* 13.1 (p. 153.20–1 Dilts) ἦν οὖν τὸ χωρίον χαρίτων ἀνάμεστων; PMG 1013 (adesp. 95).

διανα. διανῆ? διανα? διὰ να?

11 δρόσον βάλλοντες. Is the subject again the invoked deities (in conformity with the idea that the dew was sent by them from the sky to the earth; see D. Boedeker, *Descent from Heaven* 31, 49–51; the idea is Egyptian also; see J. de Savignac, *Nouveau Clio* 6 (1954) 345–53; cf. also PGM IV 2982–3 cὺ (εἰ) ἡ δρόσος ἡ τῶν θεῶν πάντων)? For the conjunction δρόσον βάλλω, cf. Horap. 1.37 (p. 83.2 Sbordone) παιδείαν δὲ γράφοντες, οὐρανὸν δρόσον βάλλοντα ζωγραφοῦσι; also Eur., *Hyps.* Fr. I ii. 17–8 Bond; Cratin. fr. 130 (PGC IV 187 Kassel-Austin).

12 Possibly ἐπ' Ὀλύμπου || εἰς γαῖά(ν)δε. For ἐπ' Ὀλύμπου at verse-end, cf. Hes., *Theog.* 689; Q.S. 1.153; 7.75, 8.194. Or, with pause after Ὀλύμπου, εἰς γαῖαν δέ.

γαῖά(ν)δε. For the form, cf. P. Argent. 481 (Pack² 1849), verso 10 (a new edition by D. Gigli Piccardi, *La Cosmogonia di Strasburgo*; Firenze 1990).

13 Perhaps καὶ ἀπὸ γαίης (|| in accordance with the usual position of ἀπὸ γαίης in hexameters) with hiatus after καὶ.

15 χροίμαι (l. χροίμαι). Sprinkling oneself with oil, perfumes *vel sim.* is a well-known practice in erotic spells and *charitiesia*; cf. PGM XXXVI 211–4, XXXIV 17 (if the suggestion of S. West, *ZPE* 7 (1971) 95 is correct); *Suppl. Mag.* II 72 ii 4; F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *DMP* XII 14, 30 (cf. H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* 215, 216). (In C. A. Faraone, *Phoixis* 44 (1990) 224 and n. 10 parallels from neo-Assyrian magic).

16 δωρηστέ μοι χάρτις. Dactylic rhythm. Either $\bar{\text{—}}$ δωρηστέ or $\bar{\text{—}}$ δωρηστέ. The active form is noteworthy; already rare in archaic and classical Greek, it becomes exceptional in the Hellenistic and late periods (Joh. Chryss., *De paenit.* 8, Migne PG 49, 344; see also R. Kotansky,

Greek Magical Amulets I 56, 6 8 n.). For *δοσέομαι* said of gods, see C. Ausfeld, *De Graecorum precationibus quaestiones*, JclPh Suppl. 28 (1903) 531, and add the indications in Bauer, *Wörterbuch*, s.n.

χαριστία. The meanings of *χαριστίας* are: (a) 'magic procedure to obtain *χάρμη*' (e.g. PGM IV 2227, V 489, VII 186 etc.; Iren., *Haer.* I.25.3 [SC 264, p. 336]; *Cyranid.* 2.14, 4.67, pp. 139.12, 293.18 K.), but strictly 'that which procures *χάρμη*' (cf. the adjective *χαριστικός* in *Cyranid.* 2.1, p. 112.11–2 K.: *οὐδὲ ὀφθαλμοὶ* (of the bear) *φοροῦμενοι χαριστίῳ εἴων*); (b) 'offering (gift) of thanks' (IV 662 53 (Antip. Sid.; see *Scl. Pap.* III 107(4).5); Euphor., *Suppl. Hell.* 443.13; SB 8026.9); (c) 'grace, beauty' in an objective sense (PGM XII 182 *κύριε, χάρμη, τὸ χαριστίῳ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης*); R. F. Hock in H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* 160 translates '... you who are the means to obtain favor for the universe ...', but this does not provide the correct sense; cfr. Preisendanz 'Freude des Kosmos'; Eitrem, P. Oslo I 1.35 n. 'αἰών *et delicias* of the universe'. (a) suggests a sense 'give me things (qualities) which will procure *χάρμη*'; (c) more directly 'give me *χάρμη*'.

17] τὴν ἄ. Perhaps preceded by *πρός*; cf. PGM XXXVI 44–8 *δότε μοι ... νύκην, χάριν, δόξαν, ἐπιτυχίαν πρὸς πάντα ἀνθρώπων καὶ πρὸς πάσας γυναῖκας, μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν δαίνα, ὃν ἐτοκεν ἡ δαίνα*; also XII 69–70. For ἄ, see *recto* i 6 n. above.

18–26 *Praxis* (18–20) and *logos* (21–26) of a spell the nature of which cannot be precisely determined. Parts (18, 22) suggest *prima facie* a spell against insomnia, but certain elements (cf. 18 n.) point rather to aggressive magic, perhaps an *agrypnētikos* against a woman (if so, erotic magic; cf. *Suppl. Mag.* II 71, f. 22.4 n.; see also 26 n. below), with a guarantee for enjoying 'sweet sleep'. But this is all uncertain; especially, I cannot recover a context for 23. In the *logos* of this section as well it is possible to discern traces of an original hexameter form: besides a hexameter which was probably complete (26, see n. below) there are possible (21, 24) or easily recoverable (22) dactylic sequences.

18 *κατὸν* (l. *καυτὸν*). For *αυ > α*, cf. Mayer-Schmoll 92–3; F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 187–8.

19 τὴν ἄριστῶν *cov*. On the left hand in magic, see the literature in W. M. Brashear, *Magica varia* (Pap. Brux. 25, 1991) 43.

20 ἄψυγε γ-. For the number three in magic, cf. PGM, Vol. 3 (Index) 190, s.v. *τρίε*, and see Brashear, *Magica varia* 41.

21 *μήτηρ τ' ἀνθρώπων*. 'Mother of mankind', of Physis in Philo Jud., *Decal.* 41; of the Earth in Plut., *Amat.* 24 (392.5–6 Hubert); Dion. Hal., *Ant.* 4.69.4; *Orph.* h. 26.1; Dio Cass. 2.11.12 (I 32.4–5 Boissvain); of Cybele in [Hom.], *hymn.* 14.1; Aristoph., *Av.* 875; Julian., *Orat.* V 179D; of Rhea in *Orph.* h. 14.9; of the Night in *Orph.* h. 3.1; of Antaia in *Orph.* h. 4.1.1–2. Cf. also PGM III 44 *τῶν πάντων [ν] ἀνθρώπων γ' ἐνέστερα* (Hecate), IV 2832–3 = *hymn.* 18.32 *θεῶν γενέστερα καὶ ἀνδρῶν* (Hecate-Persephone-Selene), 2916 = *hymn.* 22.1 (Aphrodite). Here with reference to Persephone (cf. 26)?

νιανα. Cf. *via* PGM V 442; *νιαφα* IV 390 and *ναί* LXI 70, *σφαί* 67, *λοιαί* 69, *ναίω* 69.

22] *δός μοι τῷ δαίνα* (cf. *δείνα*) *γλυκὴν ὄπνο*[ν]. Metre is easily restored by omitting τῷ δαίνα, a frequent intrusion in the magical hymns (cf. PGM IV 2735 = *hymn.* 21.15; 2756 = *hymn.* 21.29; 2909; 2931 = *hymn.* 22.13).

24 *αὐτῆ. αὐτῆ? αὐτῆ?* Are terrifying nocturnal visions (serpents, etc.) here supposed to disturb a woman's sleep?

σκολ . [, a form of *σκολιός* or cognate; *σκολό* [πεινδρα (cf. *δφικ* 24, 25) is not allowed.

25 See app. crit. If *-αίνα*, perhaps *μύρανα*, if *-εἰνα*,] *δείνα οτ*] *δεινά*.

26 Possibly *πύτνια* *Φερσεφώνη κτλ* (cf. *Suppl. Mag.* II 72 ii 24–5 *πύτνια Κυπρογένεια τέλει τέλειαν ἐπαρδῆν*); see ii 9–10 n. below.

Φερσεφώνη. Of initial *φ* only the right half of the loop, but certain. The same form (Φ.) in *Suppl. Mag.* I 47.1 and II 54.4, 8, 18, 35.

τέλεον τέλειαν ἐπαιδῆν. We cannot ascertain whether the supplemented text continued on the same line (if so, intruding strongly into the intercolumnium and beyond) or if it was spread over two lines. This formula (parallels are indicated at ii 9–10 n. below) occurs especially in love charms (exceptions: PGM IV 294–5, XX 4; III 412 17, 25 [Jul. Afr., *Cesti*, pp. 285, 287 Vieillefond]).

Col. ii

1–10 Remains of a love charm.

1 Probably *ἐ]ργητρία*, and then *δὲ* ' *β*] [*λ*ηρ νυκτός; cf. PGM XII 396 *ἀργητρίω ἡ δαίνα δι' ἑλης νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας*; *Suppl. Mag.* II 53.18–9 *ἄλλὰ ἀργητρίω δαίνα δι' ἑλης νυκτός*, I 45.6 *δι' ἑλης νυκτός ὄπνου καὶ δυνήθῃ τυχεῖν*.

2 Possibly *δ' ἄλλα*]. For *ἵαναι*, cf. *verso* i 21 *νιανα*.

3 *βα*[[*ι*[[*ι* c. 4]. Probably a form of *βαδίζω* (cf. PGM IV 2487 *βαδίζων πρὸς τὴν δαίνα*; also XIV 25, XXXVIII 5). *Βά*[[*ι*[[*ων* (addressed to the daimon), however, would not fill the space before *πρός*; perhaps *βά*[[*ι*[[*ων* δε]?

††. See *recto* i 6 n. above.

5 *πα* . . . *πος*, second, *ε* also possible (not *ο*); third, *ν* or *λ*; fourth, foot of a vertical crossing left (?); fifth, *υ*, *η*, *ν* possible. I cannot make anything of this. *παλιν*? but then what?

πρ . [, point at two-thirds height; probably *πρό*[[*ι*.

6 Cf. app. crit. The best reading may be *ἐθελοῖτο* (= *ἐθελοῖτο*; for *ι > ε*, cf. *recto* i 34, ii 25, *verso* i 8, 15), but the unidiomatic middle is disturbing. *ἐθελοῖτο* = *ἐθεθέτω* (cf. PGM IV 1516 *εἰ ἐθέλει, μὴ ἐθεθέτω*) would involve too many errors. Perhaps *ἐθελοῖ* (= *ἐθελοῖ*) *τι*? This and similar prohibitions occur often in love charms: cf. PGM IV 354 *ἴνα μὴ δυνήθῃ ἡ δαίνα μήτε πέν μήτε φαγέιν, μὴ στέργειν, μὴ καρτερεῖν, μὴ εἰσκαθῆσαι, μὴ ὄπνου [τ]υχέιν* (and the parallel passages *Suppl. Mag.* I 46.10–1, 47.10–1, 48J.23), 1516, LXI 17–8; *Suppl. Mag.* I 43.8–9, 45.45–6, II 73 ii 5–6; and see D. G. Martínez, *P. Michigan* XVI pp. 59–61.

κ(α) πειρώκα. 'Even if hungry', to be connected with the preceding verb.

μ]. Probably *μ[η]*, introducing a new prohibition.

7 The general sense of this section is hard to grasp, even in outline. *αὐτῆ[ν]*, *αὐτῆ[ς]* or *αὐτῆ[ς]* *κλειναῖς* (poetic word) or *κλειναῖς* (= *κλίνας*; for *ι > ε*, cf. above 6 n.)? If the latter, noun or verb? In the second case, the subject would be the god/demon (the subject of *ἐθέλω*) and *κλίνα* could mean 'bend, make inclined' the desired woman (cf. PGM IV 1718–21 *κλίνας γὰρ καὶ ἄγει ψυχὴν ἀντικρυς, οὐ ἂν θέλῃ, λέγων τὸν λόγον καὶ δτι κλίνας τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δαίνα*; *Suppl. Mag.* I 39.4–5); but why 'three times'?

8–9 *θα*[[*α*[[*μοι*?

9 The obvious supplement would be *παρ[θ]ένον* (and then possibly *ᾶδῃ* [;]; other articulations, as *παί[ς]* *ἐν δνάδῃ* [, seem less natural.

9–10 *Κυπρογένεια τέλει τέλειαν ἐπαιδῆν*. Possibly *πύτνια Κυπρογένεια κτλ* as in *Suppl. Mag.* II 72 ii 24–5; see also i 13–4 and the metrical reconstruction at pp. 110–1, and cf. PGM IV 2927–8 and 2938–9 (= *hymn.* 22.12, 19). For the frequent clausula *τέλει τέλειαν ἐπαιδῆν* or sim., cf. above *verso* i 26 (with note) and the references in *Suppl. Mag.* I 45. 53 n., to which is to be added II 73 ii 18 (references also in C. A. Faraone, *CIG.N.S.* 42 (1992) 321–2).

11–14 Charm to induce insomnia.

11 *ἀργ]υνητικ[ος]*. Cf. PGM VII 374, XII 376, LII 20.

πρὸ πάντων [ν ἀργ]υνητικ[ος] must mean 'a charm inducing insomnia better than all others' i.e. 'an *agrypnētikos* without compare'. The phrase shows that *ἀργητρία*, even if used as a substantive, preserved a strong verbal force (as is normal in adjectives in *-τικός*; cf. L. R. Palmer, *A Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* I 37).

12 *ἐπιθου[ν]*. Perhaps *ἐπιθίου* (but the middle is disturbing). The other possible forms (*ἐπιθούσαι*, *ἐπιθούσα*) would be difficult to accommodate in a *gnosis*. For burnt offerings, see W. M. Brashear, *Magica varia* 54–5.

13 *καθ*]. Probably a form of *καθεύδω*.

15–19 Charm against insomnia. Other somniferous charms are *Suppl. Mag.* II 74.1–7 and 96.51–2. 'Under the Empire we seem to see an increased appreciation of the blessing of sleep' A. D. Nock, *Gnomon* 21 (1949) 228 n. 3 (= *Essays* VII 111), with references.

15 *σράη*. Here 'writing', 'text'. See *Suppl. Mag.* I 23.1 n.; R. Merkelbach and M. Totti, *Abbrasax* II 40 (PGM IV 1115).

16–18 Elements (with the exceptions of 18 *δαμαλ* and 17 *κα*], if not a miswriting for *χα*]) of the *ω* *ερρηθ-logos* (16, 18) and the *ερρηκ-* palindrome (17), for which cf. PGM, Vol. 3 (Index) 240–1 and 279–80, respectively.

16 *Παταθ*. The usual spelling is *Παταθναξ* (or *Παταθναξ*); cf. PGM, Vol. 3 (Index) 229.

Perhaps *απ[ο]μψ*, a component of the *ω* *ερρηθ-logos*.

19 *καθευδέτω* (l. *καθευδέτω*). For iota adscript incorrectly added to the third person imperative, see Mayer-Schmoll 113–4; F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 185.

δ δνα †. See *recto* i 6 n. above.

20–25 Phylactery, probably intended to protect from bad encounters (men or evil spirits?).

20 *ἐάν βούλη*. For this nexus at the beginning of a charm, cf. PGM VII 335, XII 179. The form in 4468 is probably similar: *ἐάν βούλην* ... participle (21 *λαβών*) ... imperative (21 *ἐπηρεον*).

21 [.]_{uv}. [βo]βv seems to me the only word suitable for both the space and the following adjective. For the different species of plant named βoβc, cf. LSJ *s.v.*, and see J. André, *Lalamus* 15 (1956) 302. In PGM IV 2232 the plant is employed for a burnt offering in a *praxis* of a love charm.

ζ⁷. On the number seven in magic, see W. M. Brashear, *Magica varia* 69–70.

22 κδν. As far as one can judge, fully equivalent to copulative καί, as e.g. in I 120 5; P. Mich. VIII 477.38.

23 5. This section (λόγος *Abv*υππικερί), though scantily preserved, is nevertheless of interest as an addition to the few examples of Egyptian transcribed in Greek, and for its contribution to our knowledge of that little-known stage referred to as pre-old Coptic (see J. Quaegebeur in *The Coptic Encyclopedia* 8 (1991) 190–1). We gratefully acknowledge the help of Professor S. Pernigotti with this part of the text.

23 *Abv*υππικερί. Cf. PGM III 425, XIII 84 (=596), 153 (=462); Suppl. Mag. II 70.1 (with n.), 14.

αυακ. 1st pers. sing. personal pronoun, with formation in *a* which in Coptic the Oxyrhynchite dialect shares with Fayūmic and Achemimic (Sahidic **ΑΝΟΚ**). Probably we have here a case of self-identification of the sorcerer with a god/demon. For the common 'I am' predication, see D. G. Martinez, *P. Michigan XVI* pp. 92–4, with references (for **ΑΝΟΚ** 92–3).

αυκ[. Probably a noun or a proper name. It would be difficult to see it as a variant for αυκ, the construct form of the 1st pers. sing. personal pronoun in the following line.

24 αυκ. Cf. the preceding note. See W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* 11b.

αμα παλλ[. Magic words or names.

25 νραφ. 3rd pers. sing. masculine personal pronoun, with the *a* formation (see 23 n. above). See also the following note.

μν. Possibly equivalent to the Coptic **MAN** (see W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* 169b; also W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* 158) and therefore the whole expression μν μν might mean 'so-and-so (son/daughter of) so-and-so', i.e. δέυνα δέυνοc. Against the possibility of understanding νραφ as the auxiliary of the 2nd perfect, 3rd pers. masculine singular and μν μν as the verb listed in Erichsen, *op. cit.*, 162 is the fact that the three sequences are written separately.

F. MALTOMINI

4469. LETTER OF ABGAR TO JESUS (AMULET)

62 6B.78/F(1–3)b

5.3 × 15 cm

Fifth century

4469 is a new witness for the apocryphal letter of Abgar of Edessa to Jesus. The small papyrus sheet that preserves it, written along the fibres (the back is blank), is lacunose in its left centre with other smaller internal lacunae, but otherwise preserves all its edges complete. The tiny but thick unligatured script, slanting to the right, may be assigned to the later fifth century. The surface of the sheet is used to the full; there are, in fact, no margins at the top and sides—the lines, which slope strongly downwards to the right, begin at the very left edge of the sheet and run to the very edge on the right, such that there are many incorrect word-breaks (3, 4, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, 17, 22, 26, 27). The between-line spaces are also minimal. Only in the lower part of the text does the writing appear rather more relaxed, probably because the scribe realised that the sheet would in fact suffice for his requirements; the text actually stops 2 cm short of the bottom edge.

There are no lectional signs except for a double point in 16. *Nomina sacra* appear in 2, 9, 16, 17 and 38. Phonetic errors are numerous. In 21 ff. there is a partially Coptic section, and in 35–8 there is a string of magical signs which we do not attempt to reproduce and for which the reader is referred to the plate.

On the back seven folds can clearly be seen. As the damage pattern reveals, the papyrus was first folded across its middle so as to bring top and bottom together, and then starting from those ends three further narrow folds were made. There is no sign of any vertical folding.

For literature on the Abgar legend, see H. J. W. Drijvers in W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen. I, Evangelien* (Tübingen 1987) 389; also A. Desreumaux, *Histoire du roi Abgar et de Jésus* (Tournhout 1993) 153–9. Three Greek papyrus versions of the correspondence were previously known: P. Ness. II 7 (6th–7th cent.)=van Haelst 612 and P. Cairo inv. 10736+Bodl. Ms. gr. th. b. 1 (P) (6th–7th cent.)=van Haelst 613 (both with Abgar's letter and Jesus' reply), and P. Got. 21 (6th–7th cent.)=van Haelst 614 with Jesus' reply only.

4469 was obviously used as an amulet, a well attested use for the correspondence and especially for Jesus' reply (E. Kirsten, *RAC* IV (1959), *s.v.* Edessa, 589 ff.; van Haelst 612 and 614 (on the latter see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* I 458) are probable examples). Unusual, however, is the apotropaic use of the Letter of Abgar on its own; equally unusual is the fact that the letter is accompanied by a personal request (for a Coptic parallel see A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* II, no. XXV). This happens, moreover, in a peculiar way: at the point where the king begs Christ to cure him of his malady, the text of the letter by means of a slight change to a key word (*θεραπεύσαι*) slips into the request ('heal Epimachus...' 21–25). The possessor of the amulet thus substitutes himself for Abgar. Following this request, the letter takes up again from the point where it broke off, but stops somewhere in the damaged central part of the sheet. Thereafter, the personal appeal resumes, with magical elements and a quote from Psalm 28.

4469's main interest lies in its being an uncommon witness for the letter. As is known, the fundamental sources for the correspondence (which is preserved in numerous redactions in several languages: Greek, Syriac, Latin, Armenian, Coptic, Arabic, Persian, Slavonic etc.; see M. Geerard, *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti* (Turnhout 1992) nos. 88–9, 299; for literary sources, E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende* (TU 18, 1899) 158* ff.) are Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* I 13) who relates it with the assertion that he had translated it from Syriac documents kept in the archive of Edessa, and the Syriac text known as the *D(octrina) A(ddai)*, probably fifth century but with a third century nucleus (Desreumaux, *op. cit.* 33–6; ca. 400 according to J. González Núñez, *La leyenda del rey Abgar y Jesús* (Madrid 1995) 65), edited by G. Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle* (London 1876). The textual tradition of the correspondence was researched in depth by E. von Dobschütz ('Der Briefwechsel zwischen Abgar und Jesus', *ZWTh* 43 (1900) 422–86), whose conclusions may be summarized as follows: Eusebius' text is a translation of a Syriac original, lost, which was also behind the Syriac redaction represented by *DA*; contamination between the two versions was responsible for all the subsequent Greek versions (which basically reproduced Eusebius but with more or less strong Syriac influences) up till the late *Ep(istula) Abg(ari)*, compiled in 1032

according to von Dobschütz, which was a new translation made directly from the Syriac with only occasional Eusebian elements.

New papyrological and epigraphic evidence, not known to von Dobschütz, must modify this hypothesis (list of the inscriptions in Geerard, op. cit. 66). Some of the evidence presents major deviations from Eusebius and affinities with *Ep. Abg.* It had therefore been thought that as early as the second half of the fourth century a Greek reworking of Eusebius had been completed at Edessa, which would have been behind these witnesses and, later, *Ep. Abg.* (so F. Hiller von Gaertringen, *Sitz. Berlin* 1914, 817–28; see P. Ness. II 7, p. 144). Lastly R. Peppermüller (*Vig. Chr.* 25 (1971) 289–301) on the basis of the papyrus van Haelst 613 has demonstrated the existence of a Greek version of the Abgar legend independent of Eusebius, close to *DA* but not a translation of it and probably witness to an earlier stage in the text's development, and the existence has been suspected of a Greek translation made directly from the Syriac original which was the common source also for Eusebius and the *DA*. We must then admit that the textual tradition is considerably more complex than von Dobschütz had supposed.

4469 presents points of contact with the other Greek sources without aligning itself with any particular one. When it diverges from Eusebius, then a) it agrees or has points of contact with *DA*, or at least we can see or suspect the influence of the Syriac text (3 ἀκήκωα, 4 second περι, 6 λόγω (but see 5–6 n.), 7 και, 12 πάντας, 13–4 ταῦτα, 17–8 και ποιεις, 19–20 και ἐλθείν, 25–6 Ἰουδαίοι, 26–7 και διώκουσιν σε); or b) it agrees only with *Ep. Abg.* or its tradition (2 Χριστῶ, 2–3 ἐν πόλει Ἱεροσολύμοις, 16 ὅτι); or c) it agrees with witnesses different from *DA* and with *Ep. Abg.* or its tradition (16–7 (see n.), 27–8 σε ἀποκτείναι); or d) it agrees with witnesses different from both *DA* and *Ep. Abg.* (6 βοτανῶν και φαρμάκων, 27 βουλόμενοι, 28 πόλις δέ μοι ἐστι); or e) it stands alone (1 χαμαιτοπάρχη (? see n.), 15–6 δυοῖν θάτερον, 18 ἴδε νῦν, 29 σεμνή και μικροτάτη). I leave out of account lines 29 end–30, very probably corrupted. Some of these differences are minor, but others are more significant and enable us to draw some conclusions.

1) Among the Greek witnesses earlier than the *Menaiia* and *Ep. Abg.*, it is **4469** that diverges most often from Eusebius; Syriac influence seems strong. 2) Some elements of *Ep. Abg.* are already present in **4469**; their origin remains uncertain. 3) **4469** contributes nothing to the issue of the Greek translation hypothesised by Peppermüller (see above), given how little overlap there is between **4469** and the papyrus van Haelst 613. Above all, it is clear that the textual history of the correspondence is extraordinarily intricate, as will be further attested by the notes below.

Eusebius is cited according to the edition of E. Schwartz (1903). *DA* is cited by G. Howard's translation (*The Teaching of Addai* (Chico 1981) 7–9; the Syriac text has been checked for me by A. Catastini). Other witnesses, unless otherwise stated, are cited in accordance with von Dobschütz, *Briefwechsel* (see above). The translation of the letter of Abgar given here is basically that of K. Lake, *Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History* I (Loeb CL, 1926) 89, with the necessary modifications where **4469** diverges from Eusebius. The translation of the interpolated magical sections is given in bold type.

††† Ἀβγαρος Χαμαι τοπάρχη
 Ἰ(ησο)ῦ Χ(ριστ)ῶ ἀναφανέντι ἐν πόλει
 Ἱερουσαλύμοις χαίρει. ἀκήκωα τ—
 ἀ περι σὺ και περι τὸν σὸν ἰαμάτων—
 5 ν τὸν ὑ[πὸ σο]ῦ γυιοσέον, ὡς ἄνευ
 βοτανῶν και φαρμάκων, λόγω, τυ—
 φλὸς ἀναβλέπειν ποιεις και χορ—
 οὺς περιπατεῖν και λεπρούς καθ—
 10 ἀριζης και ἀκάθαρτα π(νεύμ)ατα και
 δεμόνια ἐκβάλλεις και τοὺς
 ἐν μ[α]κρονοσία βαζανιζομέ—
 [υ]ο[υ]ς πάντας θεραπεύεις κ—
 αἱ [υ]εκρού[ς] ἐκείρεις. και ταῦ—
 15 τα ἀκούσας περι σοῦ κατὰ ν—
 οὶν ἐθήμεν δυοῖν θάτερω—
 ν' ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θε(ε)ὸς ὁ καταβάς ἐκ
 τοῦ [σ]ῦ[ρ]α[υ]οῦ ἢ ἡ θε(ε)ὸς εἶ τοῦ θε(ε)οῦ και ποιει—
 20 σ ταυ[τ]α. [Υ]δε νῦν γράψας ἔδε—
 ἦθη(θη)ν [ς]ου σκηλλήνας και ἐλ—
 θεῖ[ν] πρὸς με και τὸ πάθος δ
 ἔχω ἐκεθεραπεύειν ἐπιμα—
 25 χε πωηρε λ[c. 4], **ια ταχυ ταχ—**
γ ταχυ ινα θεραπευσις ἐπι—
μαχε πωηρε .[.]μ **ταχυ ταχ[Υ]**
 30 **ταχυ.** [κ]αι γὰρ ἦ[κ]ουσα ὅτι Ἰαουδέ—
 οι κα[ταγο]γγυζουζίν σου κ—
 [αι διώ]κουσιν σε βουλόμενοί σ—
 [ε ἀπο]κτείνου. π[όλις δέ ἐμῆ] ἐστι
 [σεμ]νή κ[αι] μικροτάτη . τις κα—
 [. . .] Ἐδεσσα και Ἐδεσσα ε .
 [. . .] .[. . .] .[. . .] τουτη ἀπελ
 [. . .] .[. . .] ἐστα .[. . .] ἐν κωνδοξά
 .ου .[. . .] νον και κκεπασου ὅτι
 σοῖ ἐλπίς ἡμῶν. θεράπευε

35 ταχὺ ταχὺ ταχύ. ††† characteres

characteres

characteres

characteres φωνῆ κ(υρίο)υ δια-

κόπτοντος φλόγα πυρός. Ια-

40 ω Καβαωθ Ἐλωε Αδωναί.

$$\begin{array}{c} \nu \\ \text{a]}\text{-}\text{P}\omega \text{ φ} \\ \text{---} \end{array}$$

ζωη θεραπεύεις

β c ταχὺ ταχὺ ταχύ

†††

1 l. Οὐχαμα τοπάρχης. Or χαμαιτοπάρχης? (see n.) 2 π̄ χ̄ω 3 l. χαίρων 4 l. cod.
 π̄ων c̄ων 5 l. τ̄ων, γινόμενων 6 l. βοτανών, φαρμάκων 6-7 l. τυφλοῦς 7-8 l. χωλοῦς
 8-9 l. καθαρῶν 9 π̄ᾱᾱ 10 l. δαιμόνια 11-2 l. βσανιζομένους 13 l. ἐγείρεις
 15 l. ἐθέμην 15-6 θάτερων; τ corr. (from θ̄τ), l. θάτερον 16 θ̄c 17 θ̄c (error for π̄c, see
 n.), θ̄u 19 l. κουλῆμαι 20 l. τ̄δ 22 λ[c. 4] .1a, ε or c 23 l. θεραπεύεις
 24 [.] M . . ., first, possibly α or Δ; after M apparently ω with a stroke above; P or I; possibly I 25-6 l.
 Ἰουδαῖοι 26 l. καταγογγύζουσιν 31] [, top of a vertical.] . . . [, first, perhaps ν; then
 possibly σ̄τ; then bottom of a vertical. ασ̄ελ, possibly ασ̄εκ. 32] [, indecipherable.]ετα [, ν,
 κ, χ possible. κ̄αινοδοξ̄α, α, could be η. 33 .ου []νον, first, apparently a round letter; fourth, upright
 on the edge. 1. κ̄επάσων? 34 l. c̄d 38 π̄u

††† Abgar Uchama, the Toparch, to Jesus Christ who has appeared in the town of Jerusalem, greeting. I have heard concerning you and concerning your cures accomplished by you, that without herbs and drugs, by word you make the blind recover their sight and the lame walk, and you cleanse lepers, and cast out unclean spirits and demons, and you cure all those who are tortured by long disease and you raise dead men. And when I heard these things concerning you I decided that it is one of the two, that you are God who came down from heaven or are God (*sic!* for Son) of God and do these things. Behold, I now write to beg you to disturb yourself and come to me and the suffering which I have **heal Epimachus son of [], quickly quickly quickly, heal Epimachus son of [], quickly quickly quickly.** Moreover I have heard that the Jews murmur against you and persecute you wishing to kill you. Now I have a city venerable and very small whose [name is(?)] Edessa and Edessa . . . **and in glory (?) . . . and protect, because you are our hope. Heal quickly quickly quickly ††† (magical signs). The voice of the Lord who splits the flame of fire (Ps. 28.7). Ιαὸ Sabaōth Elōe Adōnai. α P̄ ω Health! (?), Help! (?). Light, Life. You heal quickly quickly quickly †††.**

1 Χαμαι τοπάρχης (l. το-). Eus. cod. B (οὐχ' ἄμα) and the inscriptions of Ephesus (Ουκ-), Gurdja and Philippi have Ουχαμα τοπάρχης (Oukama, 'the black', also in DA), while in the other Greek witnesses the name

is absent. For 4469 there are two possibilities: 1) χαμαι is a corruption of Οὐχαμα (in my opinion the probable solution); 2) χαμαιτοπάρχης is the correct tradition (cf. χαμαιδιδάσκαλος, χαμαιδικαστής, on which see LIV 3758 46-7 n.). χαμαιτοπάρχη would be an *addendum lexicis*. Whether there was a genuine official corresponding to this word is another matter.

2 Χ(ρις)τ̄φ. Otherwise only in *Ep. Abg.* codd. XM π̄ω (*sic*) (but cf. *Acta Thaddaei Ἰησοῦ τῷ λεγομένῳ Χριστ̄φ*). Eusebius has *κατ̄ηρ ἀγαθ̄φ*, DA 'the good physician'.

2-3 ἐν πόλει Ἱερουσαλῶμος. Full agreement - apart from the spelling, see the following n. - only with *Ep. Abg.* (the inscriptions of Ephesus, Gurdja and Philippi and the *Meniaia* have ε. π. Ἱεροσολύμων). Eusebius (with DA 'in the land of Jerusalem') has ἐν τόσῳ Ἱεροσολύμων.

3 Ἱερουσαλίμος. A blend of the two normal forms Ἱερουσαλίμ (indecl.) and Ἱεροσόλυμα. Cf. *εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα* in the *Protevangelium Jacobi* (P. Bodm. V 4.1, 6-7, p. 166 de Strycker); Ἱεροσόλυμα in P. Lond. IV 1451.38, 60, 75 etc. (see P. Lond. IV, Index 4, p. 587 s.v.).

ἀκήκοα. With DA 'I have heard' (cf. also 'alterer lateinischer Abgartext' *audiv̄i*; see von Dobschütz, *Briefwechsel* 473, 478). Eusebius and most Greek witnesses have ἤκουσατα μοι.

4 The second περί is absent in the Greek sources, but DA repeats the preposition.

5-6 τ̄ον (l. τ̄ων)—λόγω. 4469 is unique, but aligned with DA against Eusebius (*ὡς ἔθεν φαρμάκων καὶ βοτανῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ γινόμενων. ὡς γὰρ λόγος*) in the fundamental opposition *λόγω* vs *ὡς γὰρ λόγος* (see von Dobschütz, *Briefwechsel* 458). From DA '... and <concerning> your healing' that you do not heal with drugs or roots; it is rather by your word that you give sight to the blind etc.' (with which *Ep. Abg.* is in agreement), 4469 is distinguished by a) the presence of τ̄ων ὑπὸ σοῦ γινόμενων (a Eusebian element, but moved and with a different syntactic function), and b) the absence of the verb 'heal'. As regards a), 4469 accords with the Slavic version of *Ep. Abg.* (von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* 205*.80-2) and also with the Arabic version (von Dobschütz, *Briefwechsel* 438.7 app.) and probably also with the 'altère latinische Abgartext' (von Dobschütz, *Briefwechsel* 473). In the *Acta Thaddaei*, a much-reworked version of the text, we find the syntactic frame of

4469: ἤκουσατα μοι τὸ τῶν θαυμασίων πλήθος τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ γινόμενων, ὅτι ἀθενεῖς καὶ τυφλοῦς, (...) ἰάσαι πάντα.

6 βοτανῶν (l. -ῶν) καὶ φαρμάκων (l. -κων). This order (instead of φαρμ. κ. βοτ.) is found also in the inscription of Philippi.

λόγω: ὡς γὰρ λόγος Eusebius. Agreement with DA (and with the inscriptions of Philippi (?) and Gurdja, *Ep. Abg.*, Rufinus for the inscription of Ephesus, see Grégoire ad loc.).

7 καὶ om. by Eusebius. Agreement with DA (and with the Syriac translation of Eusebius, Rufinus (var.), Georgius Monachus).

9 πνεύματα. The abbreviation π̄ᾱᾱ for the nom./acc. pl. is unusual.

10 δαιμόνια (l. δαι-). So Eusebius, codd. T̄ER, and *Ep. Abg.*, codd. VXP, where it replaces Eusebius' πνεύματα καὶ δαίμονας. Elsewhere δαίμονας.

12 πάντα is absent from the other Greek versions (cf. however *Acta Thaddaei*, quoted above 5-6 n.), but is present in Labubna's Armenian translation of DA (I owe this information to A. Orengo).

13-14 καὶ πάντα. Eusebius has καὶ πάντα πάντα along with most of the Greek versions; 4469's omission is shared by DA and *Ep. Abg.*

15-16 δύο θάτερον (l. -ρον). Unique (τὸ ἕτερον τῶν δύο Eus., inscr. of Ephesus and Gurdja, *Meniaia*, *Ep. Abg.* (codd. VAMN); τῶν δύο τὸ ἕτερον P. Ness. II 7, Georgius Monachus, *Ep. Abg.* (cod. P); θάτερον τῶν δύο Nicophorus Callistus; ὅτι εἶς ἐκ τῶν δύο εἰ *Ep. Abg.*).

16-17 ὅτι-[ο]ύ[ρ]α[ν]ο[φ]. Divergent from Eusebius (ἦ ὅτι εὐ εἰ ἡ θεὸς καὶ καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ποιεῖς πάντα), DA, and *Ep. Abg.* Of the Greek texts only Georgius Monachus shares with 4469 the omission of καὶ with ποιεῖς πάντα, but the same sentence structure is found in the Slavic version of *Ep. Abg.*, see von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* 205*.90-1.

16 ὅτι. Eusebius has ἦ ὅτι along with all the Greek texts; 4469's omission is shared by the Arabic version of *Ep. Abg.* ('and' in the Slavic version); see von Dobschütz, *Briefwechsel* 439.

17 θ(ε)ς, the trace clearly suggests part of a rounded letter; most probably the scribe wrote θ̄c for the expected π̄c.

17-18 καὶ ποιεῖς. The Greek versions have the participle ποιῶν (except for the inscr. of Ephesus and *Ep. Abg.* cod. VP, which however present a corrupted text), but 4469's version seems presupposed by the Syriac translation of Eusebius, see von Dobschütz, *Briefwechsel* 430, 456.

18 [I]δε ν̄ν. Unique, but ἰδοὺ [in the inscription of Philippi and ἰδοὺ τοῦτον variant in some MSS. of

Ep. Abg. The other Greek versions have δὴ τὸντο (inscr. of Ephesus, *Ep. Abg.*), followed by τὸντο (Eusebius, inscr. of Gurdja, P. Ness. II 7, *Menaiia*) or τὸν (Georgius Monachus).

18–19 ἐδε[?]θη{θη}: conjectural, but there is certainly more than the required -θη.

19–20 καὶ ἐλλε[?]ν: om. Eusebius and other Greek versions. The fuller text as in **4469** (a distinctive mark of Syriac origin according to von Dobschütz, *Briefwechsel* 460, 462) is to be found in the Syriac translation of Eusebius, in the *Menaiia*, in some MSS. of *Ep. Abg.* and in the Coptic tradition (see von Dobschütz, *Briefwechsel* 445.29–30, 446.44–45; E. Drioton, *ROC* 20 (1915–7) 315–7, 341) and is probably to be restored in the papyrus van Haelst 613 (R. Peppermüller, *Vig. Chr.* 25 (1971) 297).

21–25 Greek-Coptic section which interrupts the letter of Abgar with a personal request (see introd.). Within this section in the transcript above we have opted to use Coptic script also for the Greek words, in the interests of continuity.

21 εκε- Coptic 3rd future, with imperative force.

21–22 ΕΠΙΜΑΧΕ (also 23–24). The ending in -ε is frequent in the Coptic rendering of Greek names in -oc and -oc; see G. Heuser, *Die Personennamen der Kopten* I (Leipzig 1929) 90; CPR XII, p. 28.

22 Α[c. 4], ΙΑ, the name of Epimachus' mother. We might have supposed that the name recurred in 24, but the traces in the two lines seem incompatible (cf. app. cr.). Did 22 supply the name of Epimachus' mother but 24 the name of his father?

22–23 ταχὺ ταχὺ ταχὺ (also 24–25, 42). For ταχὺ three times (instead of the usual twice), cf. Suppl. Mag. I 23.17; A. M. Kropp, *Ausgewählte koptische Zaubertexte* I, C 106.

23 ἴνα θεραπεύει (I. -επε). Apparently functioning as an imperative, see Bauer, *Wörterbuch, s.v.* ἴνα III 2; B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-literary Papyri*, §§ 587–9; H. C. Youtie, *Scriptunculae posteriores* I 349, 478.

24 See 22 n.

25 καὶ added before Ἰουδαίου Eusebius and other versions (some also add οί). In its omission **4469** agrees principally with DA.

26–27 κ[αὶ] δ[ι]ά] κ[ου]δ[ι]α ce: om. by Eusebius. Present in DA and also in the inscription of Gurdja (as proposed by J. G. C. Anderson, *JHS* 20 (1900) 157–8; see also *Studia Pontica* III, Brussels 1910, 198 ff.), the papyrus van Haelst 613, and the Coptic tradition (von Dobschütz, *Briefwechsel* 446.36; E. Drioton, *ROC* 20 (1915–7) 315, 341).

27 βουλόμενοι. So the inscription of Gurdja (cf. also the 'ältere lateinische Abgertext' *voluntas*; see von Dobschütz, *Briefwechsel* 474). καὶ βούλονται in Eusebius and elsewhere.

27–28 ε[ἰ] ἀποκ[τε]νεῖσθαι. With the inscription of Gurdja, var. *Ep. Abg.* (AN) κακῶσαι ce in Eusebius and elsewhere (ce κακῶσαι P. Ness. II 7 and Georgius Monachus). *Ep. Abg.* has ce ἀνελεῖν. In DA the whole phrase (from βουλόμενοι) translates as 'and arc seeking to crucify you in an effort to destroy you'.

28 ἐμὴ seems untenable. μοι in the rest of the Greek witnesses.

28–9 π[ρ]ὸς δὲ ἐμ[ὴ] (I. δὲ μοι) ἐστι [εμ]ῆ κ[αὶ] μικροτάτη. Eusebius has a different word order here. **4469** agrees (apart from ἐμ[ὴ]) with the inscription of Ephesus and the papyrus van Haelst 613 as far as ἐστι, but is unique in offering the order εμ[ὴ] καὶ μικροτάτη (see the following n.).

29 [εμ]ῆ κ[αὶ]: the reading is very conjectural. While the traces of the first letter suggest ν, all one can say of the scanty remains of the next two is that they are not incompatible with ηκ; besides, there is room for four letters in the initial lacuna. On the other hand, the inversion of the two adjectives seems the most natural and economic solution, and the palaeography is not against it.

29–30 τις κα[...]. Ἐδέσσα, the trace resembles a meaningless ν, rather than the required η (i.e. ἦτις, see below). Eusebius' text runs ἦτις ἐξαρκεί (ἐξαρκείσαι BD) ἀμφοτέροις; likewise, with minor variants (ἐξαρκείσαι, ἀρκείσαι), the rest of the Greek witnesses. **4469** will not accommodate this. On the other hand the beginning of Jesus' reply in the inscription of Edessa, P. Ness. II 7 and *Ep. Abg.* (and cf. also the Coptic version, see von Dobschütz, *Briefwechsel* 446.58; E. Drioton, *ROC* 20 (1915–7) 319) runs μακρὸς εἰ Ἀβγαρε (cō P. Ness. II 7) καὶ ἡ πόλις σου ἦτις καλεῖται (λέγεται P. Ness. II 7) Ἐδέσσα. Perhaps then in 29–30 ἦτις κα[λεῖται] (written κα[λεῖται]? the space will hardly admit six letters). If so, **4469**'s text could be due to a *saut du même au même* (ἦτις ~ ἦτις), supposing it was transcribed from a copy which supplied the correspondence in full.

30 καὶ Ἐδέσσα. From here on the text has no parallels in the known versions. Comprehension is not helped by our not knowing where the magic section that follows (recognisable from 33) actually began.

καὶ Ἐδέσσα finds an echo in Jesus' reply in the Coptic tradition (von Dobschütz, *Briefwechsel* 446.63–4 ('... und Edessa sei gesegnet auf ewig (...)'), but this passage is not contiguous with that mentioned in 29–30 n.

After ε at end, π or στ. If ἐστὶ or ἔσται, this would suit the Coptic echo mentioned in the preceding note.

31]τουτη, intractable. None of the few words ending -τουτη nor articulation]του τη seem appropriate here. Possibly error for]τατη?

32 Understand κα<ι> (see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* I 194) ἐνδοξα or κα<ι> ἐν δόξῃ?

33 If cō at line beginning, what followed? If οὐρα[?]νόν, what to do with the preceding letter?

κεεταου. Probably for κέεταου (cf. PGM XLVII 7–8 φύλαξον, κέεταου). Unidirectional κέεταου would be unlikely.

33–34 ἑτι τοῖ (I. cō) ἐλπὶς ἡμῶν. Cf. Ps. 90.9 ἑτι κύ, κύριε, ἡ ἐλπὶς μου (Psalm 90 is the one most often used in amulets; see Suppl. Mag. I 26, 6–8 comm.); also Ps. 141.6 cō εἰ ἡ ἐλπὶς μου (use of Ps. 141 in amulets: van Haelst 233), and Ps. Sal. 15.1 ἑτι ἐλπὶς καὶ καταφυγὴ τῶν πτωχῶν cō.

35 An apparent fourth cross is separated from the first three and differs in form; probably it is to be linked with the *characters* that follow.

38–39 φωνή-πυρός. Ps. 28.7, Ps. 28.3 is used in the amulet van Haelst 129.

39–40 Ἰαω Καβαωθ Ἐλωε Ἀδωναι 'Yahweh of the armies, God, my Lord'. The series is frequent in magical texts, but generally in the order I. C. A. E. (e.g. PGM XII 285; XXXVI 42; 3.2. A. Delatte-PH. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris 1964) no. 365).

41 ff. Monogram: above the horizontal line, a staurogram with the apocalyptic letters A-Ω (A lost in lacuna) at the ends of its cross-bar; upsilon above and to the left probably stands for ἔγχεῖσθαι (see M. Guarducci, *Epigraphia graeca* IV (Rome 1978) 412, 510, 549). The beta (ex corr.) below the horizontal line may stand for β(οήθει), β(οήθησον), β(οήθεια) vel sim., see F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Leipzig-Berlin 1925) 110–1; cf. also the explanation of beta in θβ (see P. Heid. IV 333.1 comm.).

φῶς ζωῆ. For this frequent formula (its cross layout also frequent), see e.g. E. Peterson, *EIS ΘEOΣ* (Göttingen 1926) 38–41, 128; W. Deonna, *Genava* 22 (1944) 135; B. Lifshitz, *Rev. Bibl.* 77 (1970) 78–9; M. Guarducci, *Epigraphia graeca* IV, 439–40; D. Feissel, *BCH* 104 (1980) 504.

41 θεραπεύει. The healing is no longer invoked (as in 21, 34) but presented as certain. Likewise Suppl. Mag. I 34 A 2–3 (cf. 35, 8) and P. Köln VIII 340 b, fr. A 8–9.

42 ταχὺ ταχὺ ταχὺ. See above, 22–23 n.

43 In the lower margin below the crosses, a large isolated mark in the form of a left-facing gamma. A *character*?

F. MALTOMINI

4470. ORACULAR QUESTION

No inv. no.

7.3 × 4.2 cm

Second or third century

This small complete slip of papyrus, written along the fibres, apparently preserves a question to an unnamed oracle. The petitioner is equally unnamed, nor does the petitioner's question have the subject of its verb identified.

Greek oracle questions from Egypt were listed by M. Totti, *Ausgewählte Texte der Isis- u. Sarapis-Religion* (1985) 130 ff. Add LV **3799**, with bibliography additional to that in Totti. Further bibliography in L. Papini's discussion of the text structure and the temple practices involved, *Anal. Pap.* 2 (1990) 11–20; see p. 15 on the absence of the name of the god appealed to. See also W. Clarysse, *Atti XVII Congresso* (Napoli, 1984) III 1348–9, and two more examples are in *ZPE* 70 (1987) 104 and PSI XX Congr. (1992) no. 3; also *ZPE* 111 (1996) 183–7.

The upright crude script is mostly unligatured. Attempted μοι in 3 is particularly clumsy. It may be the work of the petitioner rather than a temple scribe. The back is blank.

ἢ τῷ Τύβι εἰ-
 κέρχεται μοι,
 τοῦτό μοι δῶ-
 ceic.

1. εἰ

'If in Tybi x will come to me, give this to me.'

3-4 δῶceic. The form is unparalleled in oracle questions. Most usual is the form δός, in P. Köln IV 202 and SB X 10569 written δῶce; there are also variations like τοῦτό μοι ἐξένεγκον (see ZPE 57 (1984) 91) and χρηματίζει τοῦτο (P. Monac. III 117). The verb form could be seen as an example of the future indicative as imperative in the apodosis (Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek non-literary Papyri* § 396). Demotic questions usually use an imperative.

D. MONTEPERRAT

4471. OMENS FROM THE RISING OF SIRIUS

13 iB.125/C(e)

12 × 16 cm

Late second/early third century

The fragment preserves most of the top of a column of text in a rounded informal hand, with upper margin to 1.2 cm. A single ε at the left edge, 2.5 cm to the left of line 15, is all that remains of the preceding column. The front is stained with offsets at an oblique angle, transferred from the preserved writing at a time when the papyrus was folded on itself, and contributing no additional readings. The back is blank except for faint traces of offset.

The text consists of astral omens, or what in the broader scheme of classical astrology would be classified as 'general astrology'. The protases extant in lines 6 and 15 take the form, 'if x rises in y ', where x is an unnamed heavenly body and y is a sign of the zodiac. Since the signs in question, Taurus and Gemini, are consecutive, it seems probable that the text originally considered all twelve signs in order. As we shall see, the protasis of line 15 is almost certainly to be interpreted as 'if Sirius rises when Mars is in Gemini', and the simplest hypothesis is to assume an analogous meaning for the rest of the series. The apodoses describe events of national importance in Egypt, Syria, and Media: flooding, rains, crops, the welfare of various animals, the king of Egypt, discord and war.

The beginnings of this variety of prognostication are ultimately to be traced to Mesopotamian omen texts such as the great series *Enuma Anu Enlil*, in which events seen in the heavens are correlated with political and climatic predictions for the Near Eastern kingdoms (D. Pingree in *Mesopotamien und Seine Nachbarn* 2.613-631). The oldest known astral omens from Egypt are the collection of eclipse omens in a Roman-period demotic papyrus, the original composition of which can be placed with some confidence

in the late sixth or early fifth century BC, during the period of Persian domination (R. A. Parker, *A Vienna Demotic Papyrus on Eclipse- and Lunar-Omina* 28-30). Only one other Egyptian text of this kind has been published, the demotic P. Cairo 31222 (Roman period, G. R. Hughes, *JNES* 10 (1951) 256-261 and pl. x), although a few pertinent unpublished demotic and hieratic papyri of Ptolemaic and Roman date have been identified (C. A. R. Andrews in J. Johnson, *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society* 13-14, and personal communication of Dr J. F. Quack). In Greek, one may compare XXXI 2554 (third century), 4472, P. Stanford inv. G93bv (second century, J. C. Shelton, *Ancient Society* 7 (1976) 209-213) and chapters 21-23 in the first book of the astrological treatise by Hephaestion of Thebes (fourth century), retailing doctrines of 'the Egyptians of old'. More surprising is the recurrence of the same kind of material in a Syriac 'Treatise of Shem', which with its allusions to the Romans and their 'king' cannot antedate the first century BC (J. H. Charlesworth, *Bull. John Rylands Library* 60 (1977) 376-403). These omen texts represent a tradition distinct from the better-known personal horoscopy that dominates the astrology of the Roman period, in the broad but at the same time parochial scope of the forecasts (it is hardly plausible that they circulated much outside of Egypt), and also in the restricted repertoire of celestial phenomena that they exploit: chiefly the times and appearances of eclipses, and the signs of the zodiac in which the planets are found on the date of Sirius' rising.

The most striking feature of 4471 is the almost word-for-word correspondence of the apodosis in lines 16-22 to P. Cairo 31222, lines 9-10. It is this match of apodoses that allows us to identify the nature of the protases in 4471. The text in P. Cairo 31222 is headed, 'The influences of Sothis' (i.e. Sirius), and consists of a series of omens with protases following the pattern, 'if it rises when the moon is in Sagittarius'. One omen text is given for the moon and each of the five planets as well as an unidentified seventh object. The fourth omen, 'if it rises when Mars is in Gemini', bears the apodosis reproduced in the Greek papyrus. The circumstances that the protases in 4471 are elliptical, naming the zodiacal sign but not the planet, and that the two preserved instances pertain to consecutive signs, shows that we are probably dealing with part of a general manual that listed the outcomes for all the possible signs for each planet in turn. P. Cairo 31222 would then contain extracts from a similar manual, and the most likely principle of selection is that those omens were chosen that fitted the planetary positions on the date of Sirius' rising in a particular year (this explanation is not considered by Hughes in his edition). Adopting the conventional date Epeiph 25 = July 19 for the rising of Sirius, we find from Tuckerman's tables a good match with the data in the papyrus for AD 134.

Our texts illustrate the tendency for omen literature to survive in use long after the circumstances that they foretell could no longer be interpreted literally; for there can scarcely be doubt that the omens in 4471 and P. Cairo 31222 were originally composed, in substance at least, in the Egyptian language in the Hellenistic period. An absolute *terminus a quo* is set by the use of the zodiac, which first appears in Babylonian texts in the middle of the fifth century BC; and the political and geographical references

in the apodoses only fit the time of the Lagids. The mention of the king of Egypt suppressing a revolt in Syria seems even to allude specifically to the events surrounding Alexander Balas c. 150–145 (P. Derchain, in *La Divination en Mésopotamie ancienne* 147–157). Before the papyrological evidence had come to light, E. Riess (*Philologus*, Suppl. 6, 327–394) included Hephæstion's chapters and similar Greek material among the fragments of the pseudepigraphic astrological writings of Nechepso and Petosiris, which were thus supposed to have effected the passage of the Egyptian doctrines into Greek (see Pingree, *Dict. of Scientific Biography* 10, 547–549). **4471** suggests that the transmission might not have been restricted to a single channel, taking place instead through the translation of fluid and perhaps anonymous compilations as late as the Roman period.

.....] νηδετισεξεει [.
] ι αυξηθησεται ε [.
 ...] εσται σειτου τεμωωρα κ[αι
 ...] προβατων ιχθυων δνω[ν
 5 ...]ων θανατος.
 ξ[αν αν]ατειλη εν Ταυρω, εσται μεγα[αλη
 αν[α]βασις, και ο σπορ[ος] . . .]ν κλισθη-
 σ[εται] δι[α] χωρας μετα[] βλασθη-
 ς[αι, απο]λειται τα κτηνη και τινα
 10 των σπερματων. εσται δε ταυ[τα
 εν τη των Μηδων χωρα. και ο
 της Αιγυπτου βασιλευς εν μεγα-
 λοις κακοις εσται. τα δε βοικα κτ[η]-
 νη εν τω υδατι απολει τα σπ[έρ]-
 15 ματα. εαν δ' ανα[τει]λη εν Διδ[υ]-
 μοις, αποσθησ[ε] ν[τ]α[ι] τινας το [.
 εν τη Αιγυπτω η εν τη Συρω
 χωρα, και ο της Αι[γ]υπτου βα[σι]λε[υ]ς
 20 απελθων μετ[α] του στρατε[υ]ματ[ο]ς
 απολει αυτους. ο [.
 νος ακατασ[τα]τη[σ]ει
 ου μη βρεξη α[.
 αυτων απ' αυτ[.
 εαν [.

3 l. σίτου τεμωωρα 4 ιχθυων 14 υδατι 15 ματα: τ corr from ν?

'... it(?) will increase ... there will be high prices of foodstuffs and(?) ... of livestock, fishes, asses, ... death. If (Sirius) rises (with Mars) in Taurus, there will be a great flood, and the crop will be submerged(?) throughout(?) the land after germinating, the herds and some of the crops will be destroyed. These things will occur in the country of the Medes. And the king of Egypt will be in great evils. The herds of cattle will destroy the crops in the water. If (Sirius) rises (with Mars) in Gemini, some people ... will revolt in Egypt or the country of the Syrians, and the king of Egypt will set out with his army and destroy them. ... will be disaffected ... there will not be rains ... If ...'

1–5 These lines should belong to the omen for Sirius's rising with Mars in Aries. There seem to be no parallels between the preserved part and Hephæstion's omen for this situation (I 23, ed. Pingree p. 71), which refers only to political affairs in Elam (*Elamāt*), i.e. Susiana.

1 Possibly to be read as a noun ending in νη followed by δε τις ξεει. The letters read as εξ are in more quickly written cursive forms than elsewhere in the papyrus; ερ is also conceivable.

2 Cf. **2554** fr. 2, 7] . . . αυξηθησ[ε]ται και χρηματιει κα. [. But the subject is no more evident there than in the present context.

3 Cf. P. Cairo 31222, 7, 'Seed (and) grain will be high as to price (in) money' (Jupiter in Sagittarius), and 18, 'Grain will be high as to price [(in) money]' (Mercury in Gemini).

4–5 Presumably the forecast is for widespread deaths of livestock, fishes, asses, and a fourth kind of animal (birds?).

6 With this omen we may be tempted to compare Hephæstion I 23 (ed. Pingree vol. 1, 71): (ο δε του Άρεως ακτηρ εν τη του Κυνος ανατολη τυχων) εν δε Ταυρω αναβαιν κατα λογον και εφοριαν, τοις δε θεοις προσδεσασθαι τας εβγας μυρμικαι. Here there is no counterpart of the latter clause, and the fate of the crops seems to be less fortunate; see next note.

7 The traces at the end of the line are uncertain and marred by offsets. A verb is required that describes some (presumably regrettable) event for the new shoots. Dr Rea suggests συνηκλιθησεται (=συγκλιθησεται with unassimilated ν and distortion of the vowel, see Gignac, *Grammar* I 168 and 267).

11 Media is among the countries affected by the Egyptian solar eclipse omens in Hephæstion I 21 (ed. Pingree vol. 1, 54.26, 60.12, 62.19). Notwithstanding this retroactive statement, lines 6–10 seem to describe events more appropriate for Egypt.

15 A small space (c. 1 letter) precedes the new omen.

16–20 Cf. P. Cairo 31222, 8–10, 'If it (Sothis) rises when Mars is in Gemini: some men will rebel [in] Egypt and in the country of the Syrian. The king will proceed to them with his army. He will fight.' Hughes (p. 259) adopts in his translation a different restoration, 'Some men will rebel [against the king of] Egypt in the country of the Syrian', but suggests the above reading as an alternative in n. 39, p. 263. The verb translated as 'fight' is uncertain (n. 13, p. 260).

21–22 Perhaps a new sentence begins with ακατασθησει. Cf. Hephæstion I 23 (ed. Pingree vol. 1, 72): (ο δε του Άρεως ακτηρ εν τη του Κυνος ανατολη τυχων) εν δε τοις Διδυμοις ακατασθησει την Συριαν και ανομβριαν εσεσθαι σημαινει. P. Cairo 31222, 10 has (immediately after the omen quoted in the foregoing note) 'The sky abundant with rain will not be able to occur in the country of the Syrian'. Hughes (n. 45, p. 263) notes that Hephæstion's omen parallels the demotic papyrus' prediction of both revolt and lack of rain in Syria. Our text may be merging two versions of this omen, since the verb in line 21, if it pertains to Syria as it does in Hephæstion, effectively summarizes the content of 16–18. Note also ακατασθια in **2554**, unnumbered fragment (p. 77, n. 1), 1.

24 The beginning of the omen for Sirius' rising with Mars in Cancer.

A. JONES

4472. ASTROLOGICAL FORECASTS

A 19/2(b)+(c)

10 × 17.5 cm (fr. 1) 10.5 × 11 cm (fr. 2)

Second century

The text on the front of these fragments is a second-century register or account mentioning areas of land and quantities of grain. The omen text on the back is written in lines sloping upward to the right, in a hand that, although looking somewhat older than the front, is presumably also to be dated to the second century. Fragment 1, which

preserves 3 cm of margin at the top, belongs above fragment 2, with their right edges in line; line 12 in fr. 1 might have been the same as line 15 in fr. 2, or one or more lines may have intervened. Part of a single column of text is extant, with no clear beginnings or endings of lines, although some stretching out of letters, especially in line 20, suggests that the ends of lines might have roughly coincided with the present edge of the papyrus. If so, the longer restorations at the ends of some lines in our transcription would have belonged to the beginnings of the next lines. That well over half of each line is lost can be seen from fragment 1 line 9, which has part of a known formula; obviously there is no possibility of restoring connected sense.

The text is very like XXXI 2554 in contents and arrangement, so that both are now seen to be representatives of a standard type of text giving forecasts of political and climatic conditions for a series of years. The section for a single year began with astronomical and calendrical remarks, apparently pertaining to the date of Sirius' rising. After this came a longer section containing the miscellaneous predictions, followed by instructions for preparing a 'charm' (*ἀλεξητήριον*) for the year. Lastly, a prediction is made of the level of the Nile flood in 'divine' cubits, palms, and fingers.

These annual forecasts are part of the same stream of Egyptian general astrology as 4471; but whereas that papyrus adheres to the traditional (ultimately Babylonian) pattern of omen texts cast as conditional sentences, the presentation in 4472 and 2554 is no longer hypothetical. In his introduction to 2554 J. R. Rea was led by the specific and possibly dangerous character of some forecasts in 2554 (the Nile's rising and the death of the 'king') to suspect that the ostensible prophecies were in fact retrospective (similarly Shelton, *Anc. Soc.* 7 (1976) 210–211). *Ex eventu* fabrication seems less plausible now that we have another example following the very same plan from a century earlier, as well as texts such as 4471 and (for the Nile's rising) 4473 that were surely meant to enable one to make these predictions by means of astronomical observations or calculations. This casts doubt on attempts to date these prophecies according to their agreement with known historical events.

Fr. 1

[. καταλεί[ψ]ει ἐαυτοῦ []
 [] κυνόδου καὶ οὐχ ὑποστ[]
 [] οὐς ζώδιον ἐκκι. ερ[]
 [] θ. . . ε. [] μορφοὶ ἔχουσα[]
 5 [] ἔνπροσθεν τῶν προδῶν . . . []
 [] ἐπερχόμενα καὶ τὸτο ε. . . ι[]
 [] θεοὶ πῆχ(εις) τῷ παλ(αισταὶ) β̄ ξωσ παλ(αισταὶ) ζ̄. []
 [] δαίμονες χρηματιοῦσι ἐν τ[]
 [] ἐνὶ τῶν τῆς Cώθεως []

10] λει Πᾶνι ᾱ. ἐν τοῦ[τω
] καὶ ἐνδεῆς μικρο[]
] . . ὑπαρχ[]
] . [. .] []
] . []

Fr. 2

.
 15] α[]
] . ια[]
] . νεξ[. . .] ι καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες καὶ []
] θήετα[ι τα]ραχῆ καὶ ἀκαταστασία []
] πανη]γύρεως [. .] ντων ἀναταθήσων[ται
 20] ται ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνδρῶν []
] καὶ ν[. . .] ε ἐπιπεσεῖτα[ι
] π. ς καὶ [. .] . μος παραχθή[εται
] ἀνε . . [. . .] . [. .] . νου[]
] . . [. .] [. . . .]

7 πῆ, πᾶ (bis)

1 Cf. 2554 1 ii 7–8: ὁ βασιλεὺς κα[τα]λείψει αὐτοῦ τὸν ἴδιον θρόνον; and note ad loc. for nearly identical phrases in Hephæstion.

2 In the midst of the prophecies, *κύνοδος* is more likely to refer to some sort of assembly or meeting than to an astronomical conjunction.

3 Perhaps a painted figure or statuette is meant (rather than a zodiacal sign). This could be part of a protective charm, in which case one might restore *ἀλεξητήριον τοῦ* εἰς τῶν at the beginning of the line.

5 Feet are also mentioned in 2554 2 ii 10, in broken context within a 'charm' section.

7 For 'divine cubits' cf. note to 2554 1 ii 17 and 4473 introduction. Ranges of values for the peak of the flood are predicted in 2554 unnumbered scrap 5 (p. 77 note 1) and probably 1 ii 17–18.

8 Perhaps the *iota* at the beginning is the end of an adjective. Here *χρηματιοῦσι* is probably used in the sense (frequent in astrology) of 'effective', 'dominant', but what the *δαίμονες* might be is far from clear.

9 One of the heavenly bodies (the moon?) is situated in one of the decans, probably on the date of Sirius' rising before the beginning of the year in question. The complete formula would have been *ὁ δὲ προγεγραμμένος θεὸς συνοδεύει ἐνὶ τῶν τῆς Cώθεως* [δεκανῶν καλουμένων followed by the Egyptian name of the decan (cf. 2554 3 iii 14–15 and 4 iii 1–2). This was presumably the basis on which part or all of the prognostications were made. See 4474 introduction and 1–2 note.

¹⁰ Comparison with 2554 3 iii 16-18 shows that this was part of an equation of dates in the old unintercalated Egyptian calendar (*κατὰ ἀρχαίους*) and the reformed civil calendar (*κατὰ Ἑλληνιστάς*). There the equation appears to be, first, between the date of Sirius' rising in the reformed calendar (Epeiph 25?) and its equivalent in Thoth (day number lost) in the old calendar, and secondly, between the first of Thoth in the old calendar and its equivalent in Epeiph (day number lost) in the reformed calendar. As Dr Rea shows (p. 82), these synchronizations would fit any year between AD 140 and 239. Now during the course of the second century, the equivalent in the reformed calendar of Payni 11 in the old calendar shifted from Pachon 10 to Pharmuthi 15, that is, from May 5 back to April 10; while the equivalent in the old calendar of Payni 11 (June 5) in the reformed calendar shifted forwards from Epeiph 12 to Mesore 7. Since these dates have no obvious calendrical or astronomical significance, my best guess is that the text gave the equivalent of reformed Epeiph 25 (the rising of Sirius) in the old calendar, and, for symmetry, the equivalent of old Epeiph 25 in the reformed calendar. Old Epeiph 25 was reformed Payni 11 in the years AD 152/153 through 155/156.

The last words of the line are probably the beginning of ἐν τοῦ τριῶ ἔτει.

¹⁸ The words are common in this genre of text; cf. e.g. 2554 unnumbered scrap line 1 and 1 ii 4, and Hephaestion 1 21 (ed. Pingree 63 line 1) where ἀκαταστασία and παραχή occur together.

²⁰ The subject is probably the king, who is to be either slain or revolted against by his own men.

²¹ One could read ῥ[ό]σ[ο].

²² Perhaps π[ό]λις.

A. JONES

4473. ASTROLOGICAL FORECASTS OF THE RISE OF THE NILE

106/2(a)

19.5 x 32 cm

Second/third century

The text is written across the fibres in a distinctive strong serified sloping hand on the back of a second century agricultural account. The main fragment (composed of two not quite contiguous pieces) preserves part of a column with an upper margin of 2.5 cm and a lower one of 6 cm. Line beginnings are separated by a 1.5 cm intercolumnium from negligible traces of a preceding column. The remaining debris includes four small strips, not transcribed here, preserving a few letters from consecutive lines that apparently belong to another column of the text.

The script is an exotic attempt at a broad, slanting version of the formal mixed type, showing influence of the severe style (such as Turner *GMAW* no. 84, Roberts no. 21a) with, however, many inversions and idiosyncrasies. To the severe style may be accorded the spiky descenders of tau, rho, upsilon, etc., the straight backed epsilon, the tendency of the cross-stroke of nu to the horizontal, and possibly also the flamboyant, forward sweeping arms of alpha and kappa. But traces of documentary forms remain in beta, eta, nu, ligatures (omega-nu in 6, delta-rho in 17) and bulbous omega with a distinctly raised centre rather than the flat bottomed version of the severe style. Idiosyncrasies (suggestive of non-Egyptian hands?) include: the triangular bowl of phi with flat top, the preposterous baroque xi in 13, and most of all the habitual decorative addition of finials hooking back to the left (as in the Pierpont Morgan Iliad, Schubart

GP Abb. 95) not only on the tops of uprights (as commonly in the severe style) but even on round letters like omicron (13 ad fin.), epsilon, and sigma (11 ad fin., 29 *Κυρός*). For another astrological text cast in a bizarre, stylized hand, see Roberts 16c (horoscopes), equipped with decorative serifs reminiscent of Rustic Capitals.

In lines 1-20 the text follows a repetitive structure with the name of a zodiacal sign followed by statements that each in turn of the first, second, and third decans 'brings about' (φέρει) a stated number of cubits, ranging from 9 to 15. The signs appear in order, starting with Taurus (restored) in line 1, and ending with Pisces in line 19. A section for Aries must have occupied the last lines of the preceding column. As usual in astrological texts, the decans refer to 10° segments of the zodiacal signs; their Egyptian names do not appear here. The significance of the cubits is less obvious. An astronomical unit called πήχυς was used by Hipparchus to measure apparent distances, i.e. great-circle arcs, between heavenly bodies; it was apparently supposed to be equivalent to 2°, and was an adaptation of the 'cubit' (KŪŠ) of Babylonian astronomy (Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest* 322 n. 5). There seems to be no plausible rationale, however, for associating arcs of twenty to thirty degrees with the decans.

If, on the other hand, the cubits of our text are mundane units of length, they must surely refer to the level of the Nile in flood. The unit is appropriate, since the Nile's depth was traditionally measured in cubits (specifically a 'Nile cubit' of 28 digits, otherwise called βασιλικός or θεῖος, cf. Heron, *Teubner* ed. IV p. 190 and 2554 1 i 17 note), and 12 to 16 cubits was reckoned to be the normal range at the peak of the flood (Pliny, *NH* V x 58). Astrological predictions of the flood level are frequent in texts of the genre of 4471, typically in broadly descriptive terms; but the forecasts for specific years at the end of each section of 2554 and 4472 are precise numbers of 'divine cubits', palms, and digits. The notion of making river levels an object of astrological divination probably spread from Mesopotamia. It is noteworthy that the Babylonian astronomical Diaries regularly record the changes of level of the Euphrates in cubits and digits at the end of each month from the sixth century BC onward (Sachs and Hunger, *Astronomical Diaries* I pp. 34-36).

The scheme of 4473 probably worked as follows. On a particular date preceding the peak of the flood, probably the rising of Sirius in mid July (cf. lines 23, 29, and 2554 3 iii 14 note), one observed or—more likely—calculated the position of one of the heavenly bodies in the zodiac, and read off the number of cubits corresponding to the appropriate decan in the list. The heavenly body, which is not named in the preserved text, must have been capable of occupying any part of the zodiac on that date; this eliminates the sun, Mercury, and Venus from consideration. The most likely candidate is the moon. The prescribed numbers of cubits are summarized in the table below; I have not succeeded in finding a pattern in them. The apparently random fluctuation might suggest an origin in actual records of river levels from past years, such as we know were kept in the Roman period (O. Pearl, *TAPA* 87 (1956) 51-59).

Sign	Decan			Sign	Decan		
	1	2	3		1	2	3
Aries	?	?	?	Libra	12 $\frac{2}{3}$	?	13 $\frac{2}{3}$
Taurus	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	?	9	Scorpio	14 $\frac{2}{3}$	?	13 $\frac{2}{3}$
Gemini	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	?	12 $\frac{2}{3}$	Sagittarius	14	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
Cancer	15	?	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	Capricorn	?	14 $\frac{2}{3}$?
Leo	?	14	13 $\frac{2}{3}$	Aquarius	?	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
Virgo	?	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	?	Pisces	13	1x $\frac{2}{3}$	14

The continuation of the text in lines 22–30 sets out instructions for an astronomical or astrological computation, perhaps related to the foregoing prognostications. There are enough parallels with O. Bodl. II 2176 (c. AD 257) to make it appear probable that they describe the same procedure, which turns out to be directed at least in part to finding the moon's approximate location in the zodiac on the date of Sirius' rising.

Ταύρος α δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιγ γ'. β δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις []'. γ δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις []'. Διδ[υ]μοι α δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιγ γ'. β δμοίως δεκανῶ φέρε[ι] πῆχ[ε]ις []'. γ δεκ[αν]ῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις δώδεκα δίμοιρ[ον]. <Καρκίνος> α δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιε. β δεκανός φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις []'. γ δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιδ γ'. Λέων α' δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις []'. β δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιδ. γ δεκ[αν]ῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιγ β'. Παρθένω α δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις []'. β δεκ[αν]ῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιγ γ'. γ δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις []'. Ζυγός α δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιβ β'. β δεκ[αν]ῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις []'. γ δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιγ. Σκο[ρπίος] α δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιδ β'. β δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις []'. γ δεκ[αν]ῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιγ β'. Τοξότης α' δεκ[αν]ῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιδ β'. γ δεκ[αν]ῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ια γ'. γ [δε-]κανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιδ γ'. Αιγόκερω α' δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις []'. β δεκ[αν]ῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιδ β'. γ δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις []'. 'Υδροχόω α δεκανός φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις []'. β δεκ[αν]ῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιβ γ'. γ δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιδ γ'. 'Ιχθύσι α δεκανῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιγ. β δεκ[αν]ῶ φέ-

20 ρει πῆχ[ε]ις []' β'. γ δεκ[αν]ῶ φέρει πῆχ[ε]ις ιδ. [(vac.?)
τέλος ε[]'. [] [] []
ὡς δεῖ εὐρεῖν το[] ἀ-
πὸ τῆς συνόδου τ[οῦ] πρ[ὸ] Κ[υ]νός ἐπιτολῆς ἐπὶ τῆν []
ἀριθμῶ τῶν ἡ[μερ]ῶν π[] νκ[]
25 τὸν τριακοστ[ό]ν. γειν [] [] νναγα[]
β... οvac. πρόσθεσ τ[] [] [] ιδεπο. []
ἐστὶν τῶν τεσσαρακον[] πλ[η]ρῆς ἀριθ[μ]ῶς
αὐτός. ὡς δεῖ τῆν νομη[νίαν] ε[] [c. 4 πρ]αγματείας []
... τα. [ε]κ[] λυσίς ἡλίου ἐν τῷ μην[ί] τοῦ Κυνός ἀστέρ[ο]ς
30 τ. εχόνο[] [] τοῦ προπαρακεμμένο[υ].

5 l. δεκανῶ 8 l. Παρθένω 10 ε of first δεκανῶ corr. from ω 13 l. δεκανῶ
15 l. Αιγόκερω 17 ὑδροχου, l. 'Υδροχός; l. δεκανῶ 19 l. 'Ιχθύσι 25 l. γίνεσθαι?
29 l. ἐκλειψίς? ἐν corr from τω

'Taurus: Decan 1 brings 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. Decan 2 brings ... cubits. Decan 3 brings 9 cubits. Gemini: Decan 1 brings 15 cubits. Decan 2 likewise brings ... cubits. Decan 3 brings 12 $\frac{2}{3}$ cubits. (Cancer): Decan 1 brings 15 cubits. Decan 2 brings ... cubits. Decan 3 brings 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. Leo: Decan 1 brings ... cubits. Decan 2 brings 14 cubits. Decan 3 brings 13 $\frac{2}{3}$ cubits. Virgo: Decan 1 brings ... cubits. Decan 2 brings 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. Decan 3 brings ... cubits. Libra: Decan 1 brings 12 $\frac{2}{3}$ cubits. Decan 2 brings ... cubits. Decan 3 brings 13 cubits. Scorpio: Decan 1 brings 14 $\frac{2}{3}$ cubits. Decan 2 brings ... cubits. Decan 3 brings 13 $\frac{2}{3}$ cubits. Sagittarius: Decan 1 brings 14 cubits. Decan 2 brings 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. Decan 3 brings 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. Capricorn: Decan 1 brings ... cubits. Decan 2 brings 14 $\frac{2}{3}$ cubits. Decan 3 brings ... cubits. Aquarius: Decan 1 brings ... cubits. Decan 2 brings 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. Decan 3 brings 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. Pisces: Decan 1 brings 13 cubits. Decan 2 brings ... cubits. Decan 3 brings 14 cubits ... How one should find ... from the conjunction preceding the rising of Sirius to the ... number of days ... one thirtieth. There results ... Add ... is of forty ... whole number ... How one should ... the first of the month ... solar eclipse in the month of the star Sirius ... the preexistent one.'

2 There does not seem to be room for Διδμοι to be spelled out.

3 *δμοίως* might suggest that the lost number of cubits for the second decan of Gemini was the same as for the first, 13 $\frac{1}{2}$.

4 There was certainly not space for the name of the sign at the line's end.

21 Apparently marking the end of the section.

22–23 The papyrus is broken just to the left of the first visible letters of these lines, which are vertically aligned with the beginnings of the preceding and following lines.

23–25 Apparently a computation of the moon's zodiacal sign on the date of the rising of Sirius. First, one counts the number of days from the preceding conjunction of sun and moon until the rising of Sirius. This is also the first step in O. Bodl. 2176, lines 2–15, where we are explicitly told (1) that the rising of Sirius occurs on Epeiph 24 or 25, and (2) that the count is supposed to include the first day but not the last, i.e. if the conjunction takes place in Epeiph, we simply subtract the day number from 25. The alternative dates for Sirius' rising apparently depend on where the year falls within the four-year intercalation cycle of the calendar. The reason for this is that from year to year the ideal moment when the star's elongation from the sun is large enough for it to be seen before sunrise occurs a quarter of a day later each year following a non-intercalary year, but then three quarters of a day earlier following an intercalation, whereupon the pattern begins again.

At the rising of Sirius the sun will always have the same longitude, roughly at the beginning of Leo. Suppose, very crudely, that the sun progresses 1° per day, and the moon 13° per day. Then since the longitude of both the sun and the moon at a conjunction d days earlier will be d degrees smaller, the longitude of the moon at Sirius' rising should be $12d$ degrees past the beginning of Leo, or $12/30d$ zodiacal signs past Leo. Now in O. Bodl. 2176, line 16, we are instructed to multiply d by some amount that may have been 12 (faint traces at the beginning of line 17, not transcribed in the edition, might be $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon$). The corresponding step in **4473** line 24 is broken away, but the next line prescribes a division by 30.

27 The role of the number 40 in any astronomically meaningful calculation involving conjunctions is obscure, but it is surely not an accident that O. Bodl. 2176 introduces its instructions with the heading, *πὼς δι (sic) μαθεῖν τοῖς τεσσαρακονταετηρίοις τὸ ἔτος*. Possibly it has something to do with the 40 years of the old (unintercalated) Egyptian calendar required for the solar longitude on a given date to shift backwards one decan (cf. **4474** line 5 note).

28–30 This seems to promise instructions for a calculation or prediction relating to solar eclipses in the month of Sirius' rising, i.e. Epeiph.

A. JONES

4474. ON THE EGYPTIAN YEAR

15 2B.40/G(d)

10.5 × 8 cm

Late second/early third century

The fragment preserves parts of the top lines of two consecutive columns with a 2.5 cm intercolumnium and a 3 cm upper margin. The hand is a documentary type with a slight backwards lean, somewhat resembling P. Lond. I 110 (horoscope for AD 138; Roberts, *GLH* plate 18a). There are faint traces on the back, possibly offset.

The preserved text in column i, which clearly begins in the middle of a discussion, equates the end of an Egyptian calendar year with the sun's entry into the second decan of Virgo; the Greek spelling of the name of this decan is a new variant, reinforcing the impression given by our other sources that there existed no standard set of transliterations of the Egyptian names. Reference is then made to the annual occurrence of astronomically significant events (solstices and, probably, equinoxes) and religious festivals.

The genre of the text is obscure. In the Egyptian astronomy of the pharaonic period the decans were constellations used for nocturnal time-reckoning (O. Neugebauer and R. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts* I 95). In Hellenistic and Roman texts, however, they had become part of the equipment of astrology, equated with equal 10° segments of the zodiacal circle. They are referred to, either by name or as (e.g.) 'the first decan of Aries', in Greek and Latin astrological handbooks, some of the more elaborate horoscopes, and astral omen texts like **2554**. But the present text makes no recognizable allusion to astrological concepts. What it does call to mind is P. Hib. I 27, a calendar apparently drawn up in the Saite nome c. 300 BC that lists the fixed dates of religious festivals and astronomical events (risings and settings of stars, equinoxes and solstices) in the Egyptian months. The decans (*οἱ τριάκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἀτέρες*) are mentioned in connection with festivals in Thoth, Tybi, and Pachon in P. Petrie III 134, also from the third century BC. The text in **4474** was certainly composed in the Roman period, since

the decan named in line 2 is the one that the sun enters close to the beginning of the year according to the reformed Egyptian calendar.

Col. i

π]ρὸς ἓνα ἐκ τῶν προκειμένων ἀς
 τέρων τὸ κ]αλούμενον οὐστεικῶ ὡς συνπλη-
 ρωθῆναι] τὰς τξ̄ε ἡμέρας ἐν αἰς εἰςιν)
 ἧ τε μεγίστ]η τροπή καὶ ἡ ἐλαχίστη καὶ αἰ
 5 ἰσημερία] πρὸς ἀ[ε]ἰ ἐνιαυτοῖς ἑορταὶ
] ηλ. [. . .]θη δύνασθαι κυμ-
], [

Col. ii

[
 [.]ε[
 10 οπ[
 νη[
 ται[
 τος[
 το[

2–3 1. συμπληρωθῆναι

(Col. i)

'[... it returns(?)] to one of the constellations mentioned above, which is named Ousteuko, so that 365 days are completed, in which occur the greatest solstice and the least and the [equinoxes(?)], in relation to which(?) the annual festivals ...'

1–2 The usual Greek term *δεκανός* refers to the divisions of ten degrees on the zodiacal circle with which the decans were equated in astrology. In what seems to be the earliest known reference to them, P. Petrie 134 line 2, the decans are called *ἀτέρες*, 'stars' or 'constellations', which corresponds accurately to the Egyptian terminology. The phrase here is otherwise reminiscent of the formula employed in **2554** 3 iii 15–16 and 4 iii 2–3: *ὁ δὲ προγεγραμμένος θεὸς συνοδεύει ἐν τῶν τῆς Σάθως δεκανῶν καλουμένων κ.τ.λ.*

The name *οὐστεικω* is marked as non-Greek by the horizontal stroke above the letters. This corresponds to the decan that bore the apparently untranslatable name *uṣy bkity*; in the later tradition it was the second decan of Virgo (i.e. Virgo 10° – 20°). There was no stable spelling in Greek. Hephaestion's list, as it comes down to us in the direct manuscript tradition, calls it *οὐστεικωσι* (I 1, ed. Pingree vol. 1, 15.21 apparatus), whereas a mediaeval epitome of Hephaestion gives the spelling *οὐστεικωτ* (vol. 2, 146.13). It is odd that

4474's spelling appears to support the reading that strays further from the Egyptian name; perhaps there were alternate spellings in an earlier state of Hephaestion's text. Perhaps closest of all to the Egyptian is the partially damaged version in the horoscope P. Lond. I 98 line 35, restored by Parker as [ουε]λη βικωρ (Neugebauer and van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* 30).

2-3 The year begins and ends when the sun reaches Virgo 10°. This is approximately correct for Thoth 1 in the reformed Egyptian calendar (Sept. 29 or 30). The text does not mention the intercalations every four years, without which the solar longitude at the beginning of the year would gradually shift backwards. Nonetheless it is obvious that the work from which it comes must have been composed after the calendar reform, i.e. in the period of Roman rule.

3 At the end of the line is a small arc at mid-height, apparently acting as a line-filler.

4 The 'greatest' solstice is surely the summer solstice, when the length of daylight is at its maximum, and the 'least' is the winter solstice. I have not found this terminology anywhere else. The equinoxes were almost certainly mentioned in the lost part of line 5. The dates are of course not listed in the order that they occur in the Egyptian year.

5 If the restoration is correct, the text appears to say that the annual festivals were tied to the dates of the solstices and equinoxes. Attempts to correlate the two date back to the early Hellenistic period. P. Hib. 27, from the early third century BC, assigns specific fixed dates in the Egyptian calendar not only to Egyptian cult festivals, but also to the equinoxes and the summer solstice, and sets out a corresponding pattern for the increase and decrease in the length of daylight through the Egyptian year. The Canopus Decree of the 9th year of Ptolemy Euergetes (OGI 56) adduced the gradual retrocession of the festivals relative to the seasons as the reason for introducing an intercalary sixth epagomenal day after every four years, a reform that was only brought into effect in the reign of Augustus. Writing later than the middle of the second century BC, Geminus (*Logage* 8.20, Manilius 108) mentions as a misconception of the Greeks the notion that the Egyptian festival of Isis coincided with the date of the winter solstice 'according to Eudoxus', whereas in his time there was a full month's discrepancy (on the passage and the date of Geminus see Neugebauer, *Hist. Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* 579-580). It is noteworthy that in explaining the cause of the shift, Geminus expressly calculates that 40 years brings about a shortfall of 10 days, i.e. the interval that approximately corresponds to one decan's worth of solar motion.

A. JONES

4475. GENERAL ASTROLOGY

88/132(a)

3.5 × 4 cm

Second century

A small fragment preserving the middles of five lines (and a trace of a sixth) from the bottom of a column in a small plain upright hand with some documentary features. The back is blank.

The text is meagre and disconnected, but interesting for its juxtaposition of allusions to *ἐπισημασίαι*, equinoxes and zodiacal signs, and the great astronomer of the second century BC, Hipparchus. The terms *ἐπισημασία*, *ἐπισημαίνεω* referred to celestial 'signs' or omens of two types: correlations of the risings and settings of fixed stars with changes in the local weather as recorded in weather calendars (*παραπήγματα*), and characteristics of planetary phenomena and above all of eclipses interpreted as portents of conditions and events in a particular region. Hipparchus recorded *ἐπισημασίαι* of the former kind for Bithynia in a lost work that was one of Ptolemy's sources for the *Phaseis* (*Opera* ed. Heiberg, vol. 2, p. 67). But it is difficult to see how the zodiacal signs and equinoxes can have been pertinent in a discussion of predictions from the appearances and disappearances of individual stars.

Ptolemy is also our best source for the other variety of *ἐπισημασία*. They are mentioned several times in the chapters of the *Almagest* on the prediction of eclipses (ed. Heiberg, vol. 1.1, pp. 476, 512, 535-537). The passages reveal that the *ἐπισημασίαι* were observable or predictable phenomena such as the fraction of the sun's or moon's disk obscured and the directions along the horizon towards which the obscuration appears to 'point'; but nothing is said about the astrological interpretations. The latter are, however, very prominent in *Tetrabiblos* II, Ptolemy's treatment of 'general' astrology. II 8 (ed. Boll and Boer, pp. 82-84) discusses the kinds of predictions that can be made from the astrological attributes of the zodiacal sign within which the sun or moon is eclipsed, with express mention of the influences of the signs associated with the equinoxes and solstices. The citation of Hipparchus may have something to do with a tradition that Hephaestion ascribes (rightly or wrongly) to him associating zodiacal constellations and their parts with geographical regions (ed. Pingree, vol. 1, pp. 4 and 22). In view of the emphasis in modern scholarship on Hipparchus' contributions to mathematical astronomy, it is curious that the two known references to him in papyri (here and in the horoscope LXI 4276 ii 3) are in astrological contexts.

. [.
] . [.
] . αφει τοῦ ἀρα [.
ἐπιση]μασίας τῶν το [.
τῶ]ν ἡμεριῶν [.
5 ἐ]κ τῶν ζωιδίων [.
]υ καθὰ καὶ Ἰππαρ[χο]ς

3 ἡμεριῶν

A. JONES

4476. ON THE QUALITIES OF THE ZODIACAL SIGNS

15 2B.42/C(g)

10.5 × 11.5 cm

Late second/early third century

From the bottom of a codex page, with approximately 1.5 to 2 cm lower margin. All other sides are broken, although the beginnings and ends of some lines are just extant. The side with the vertical fibres, which is the codicological recto, is abraded in the lower right portion. The hand is an informal rounded semi-documentary type.

So far as it is preserved, the text consists of astrological attributes of the zodiacal signs and characteristics of people born under their influence, i.e. with the relevant sign

in the ascendant at the time of birth. Substantially the same lists occur in Vettius Valens' chapter (I 2) on the qualities of the twelve signs. Since the first book of Valens' *Anthologiae* was written in the 160s or later (Pingree, ed. Teubner, p. vi), our papyrus is unlikely to be an abridgement of it; rather, we here have an independent version of one of Valens' sources.

In Valens, each zodiacal sign is taken up in turn in order of increasing longitude starting with Aries, and part or all of the following information is given: (a) attributes of the sign; (b) attributes of the persons affected, derived from the sign itself as well as from the presence of the benefic planets or the planet that is lord of the sign in effective locations; (c) climatic influences of the sign and its subdivisions; (d) a summary of the stars composing the constellation that corresponds to the sign, and other stars that rise or set along with it; (e) geographical regions subject to the influence of parts of the constellation. The order of these sections varies chaotically from one sign to the next. Thus Aries, Gemini, Leo, and Capricorn follow the order a–e, as also do Aquarius and Pisces but with a second version of d–e at the end. Sections c–d come before a–b for Cancer, while for Taurus they come in the middle of section a. The remaining signs (Libra, Scorpio, and Sagittarius) omit all except a–b. 4476 contains only a–b for the consecutive signs Aries–Taurus (recto) and Gemini–Cancer (verso). It looks as if this text supplied the skeleton which Valens attempted to flesh out with sloppy insertions from disparate sources. Notwithstanding the variants—some of them no doubt due to inaccuracies of the papyrus' version—Valens turns out to have copied his source quite mechanically, reproducing even his predecessor's declaration that he will not continue to spell out the planetary influences for the signs following Gemini (verso lines 10–15; in Valens the promise is not kept in the case of Leo).

Detailed discussion of the astrological contents of the papyrus is not given here, as being more appropriate to a commentary on the complete version in Valens; the notes and translation in J. F. Bara, *Vettius Valens d'Antioche: Anthologies, Livre I*, pp. 52–77, must however be used with caution.

.....] . . [.] πολιτικόν, . . .] . [. . .] ον[. , κόσ-
μου μεσου]ράνημα και δόξης αἰτίον,
.....]ς ἐν αὐτ[ῷ] και ἡ σελήνη ἀλφο[ύς,
5] ἔστιν δὲ και ἀκύνδετον, ἐγλειπ[τι-
κόν. ἔσονται οἱ γενόμενοι ἐν τούτῳ κατὰ τ[ὸν
οἰκοδεσποτ]ὸν λόγον λαμπροί, ἐπίσημοι, ἐ[πι-
τακτικοί, δι]καιοι, μειοπόνηροι, ἐλεύθε[ροι, ἡγε-
μονικοί, θρα]σεῖς τῇ γνώμῃ, ἀλαζ[ό]νες, μ[εγα-

10 λόφουχοι, ἄ[ε]τατοι, ἀνώμαλοι, ὑψαύχενες, μετέ[ω-
ροι, ἀπει]λητικοί, ταχέως μετα[βαλλό]μενοι. τῶν
δὲ οἰκοδ[εσποτῶν] καλῶς πε[π]τωκ[ό]των [και ὑπὸ ἀγα-
θοπ[οι]οῦ μαρτυρουμένων γίνονται] ἐξοικιστι-
κοί, βα[ε]ιλικοί, ζωῆς και θανάτ[ου] παρρησίαν ἔχον-
15 τες. Ταῦρος, οἶκος Ἄφροδί[τη]ς. . . [. . .
..... ον, στερεόν, κόσμος περιποιητ[ί]κόν, [. . .
..... γεωργικόν, δουλελεύθερον]

5-6 ἐγλειπ[. . .] 1. ἐκλειπτικόν 6 I. γεννόμενοι 7 I. οἰκοδεσποτικόν 8. I. μειοπόνηροι
17 δουλελεύθερον?

→
c. 18] ἐστ[ι]ν ἀ]ρ[ε]νικόν,
c. 5]ον, θηλυνόμ[ε]νον, φωνα[ε]κτικόν,
ἀ]νθρωποειδές, σπειρώδες, δίς[ω]μον, c. 3
. . . πικόν, δημόσιον. οἱ δὲ γενό[μ]ενοι γίνον-
5 ται φιλόλογοι, γραμματεῖς και π[αι]δείαν ἀσκοῦν-
τες, ποιητικοί, φιλόμουσαι, οἶκον[ο]μικοί, πί-
ς]τεις ἀναδεχόμενοι[υς]. γείνον[ται] δὲ και ἐρ-
μηνεῖς, ἐμπορικοί, κριτικοί ἀγα[θῶν] και κακῶν,
φρόνιμοι, περιέργοι, ἀποκρύφω[ν] μύσται. και
10 δ]σα ποτὲ οἱ οἰκοδεσπῶται εἰώθα[ε] τελεῖν
κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν ἦτοι ἀγαθὰ ἢ κ[α]κὰ ἢ ἐλά-
ς]ων και μείζονα, ταῦτα και ἐν ἑκα[ε]στον τῶν
ζ]ωδίων > τελεῖσι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ οἴκο[δε]σποτου
ε]χηματογραφίαν χρηματιστικὴν ἢ ἀχ[ρη]-
15 μ]ατι[ε]τικὴν ἵνα μὴ δοκῶμεν ταῦτα γράφειν.
Καρ]κίος οἶκος σελήνης, θηλυκόν, τροπικόν,
ὠρ[ο]σκοπός το]ῦ κόσμου, δοῦλον, κατωφερές, ἄφωνον,
ὕδατ]ώδες, ἀγαθόν, εὐμετάβολον, δημόσιον

4 I. γεννόμενοι 6 I. φιλόμουσοι; horizontal stroke above οἶκο 7 uc crossed out; I. ἀναδεχόμενοι
I. γίνονται 11-12 I. ἑλάσσονα 14 rightmost stroke of α extends across first το I. εχηματογραφίαν
16 I. οἶκος

(Aries) ... political, ... midheaven of the cosmos, and responsible for reputation ... in it and the moon, leprosy ... it is also disjunctive, ecliptic. Those born in it according to the principle of house-rulers will be illustrious, noteworthy, commanding, righteous, loathers of knavery, free, leaders, bold in thought, boastful, great-souled, unstable, capricious, haughty, absent-minded, full of threats, swift in changing their minds. When the house-rulers are favourably situated and aspected by a benefic planet, they come to be authoritative, royal, holding the power of life and death. Taurus, house of Venus, ... solid, the wealth-bringing *locus* of the cosmos, ... agricultural, manumissive ... (Gemini) ... is masculine, ... womanish, vocal, anthropomorphic, barren, bicorporal, ... public. Those born (in it) are learned, clerks and practitioners of education, artists, lovers of the arts, administrators, takers-on of responsibilities. They are also interpreters, merchants, arbiters of good and evil, wise, inquisitive, initiates in mysteries. And all the things that the house-rulers ever tend to effect in accordance with their own nature, whether good or bad or less or more, they will effect for each one of the zodiacal signs according to the effective or ineffective configuration of aspects of the house-ruler, so that we need not appear to be repeating ourselves. Cancer, house of the moon, feminine, tropical, ascendant of the cosmos, servile, descending, inarticulate, watery, good, changeable, public ...'

↓

2 After πολιτικόν Valens has διλογονον, λατρῶδες. This would fit the gap in the papyrus, reading διλιγ[ό]γ[ο]ν.

3-4 The text of the papyrus seems to be corrupt. After δόχρωμον Valens has ἐπεὶ ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ἡ σελήνη ποιοῦσιν ἀλφούς, λειχθήσας.

6-7 I assume a corruption, since there appears to be no room for the correct reading, οικοδεσποτικόν.

11 After μεταβαλλόμενοι Valens adds εἰσποροι.

13 The papyrus may have μαρτυρούμενοι, in error.

13-14 I assume a transposition of Valens' βασιλικοί, ἐξουσιαστικοί.

15 A space of approximately 3 letters' breadth precedes Ταῦρος. The statement that Taurus is the house of Venus is not in Valens.

15-16 Perhaps read (following Valens) ἐστὶ θηλικόν.

16-17 Valens continues after στερεόν with further attributes not present in the papyrus. After the intervention of foreign material (see the general comment above) Valens resumes the list with κόμμοι περιποιητικόν. His next descriptions, γεῶδες, χωρικόν, do not fit the traces at the beginning of 17.

→

1-4 Although in the descriptions of the other signs ζῳδιον is always understood, here Valens inconsistently uses masculine plural adjectives to agree with Δέδυμοι. The list is significantly different in the papyrus, since Valens does not have counterparts for φωναστικόν (cf. line 6 note), ἀνθρωποειδές, or apparently, the adjective at lines 3-4.

5 Valens: γράμματα.

6 After φιλόμονοι Valens has φωναστικοί. The line drawn above the beginning of the next word in the papyrus may mark an accidental omission.

8 Valens: κριτικοὶ κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν; a transposed version of this is expected but would be a tight fit in the space in the papyrus.

10 Valens: ὁ οικοδεσπότης εἰσθεν ἀποτελεῖν.

11 Valens: ἀγαθὰ ἢ φάβλα ἢ ἡττονα ἢ μείζονα.

13 Valens: ἀποτελεσεῖ.

15 Valens: ἀχρημάτιστον.

17 ὠροσκόπος was presumably written using the usual monogram, Ω.

A. JONES

4477. HOROSCOPE IN TABULAR FORM, AD 430

65 B.32/A(1)a

22.5 × 30 cm

After 430

The great majority of horoscopes on papyrus are terse lists of the sun, moon, planets, and ascendant point of the ecliptic with their locations in the zodiac calculated for the date and time of someone's birth; occasionally the astronomical and astrological

information is expanded into an elaborate prose text (cf. Baccani, *Oroskopi greci* 39-48). 4477 is very unusual in presenting horoscopic data comparable to that found in the elaborate horoscopes in the form of a table. The only other tabular horoscope that has so far come to light is LXI 4286 (text in A. Jones, *Astronomical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus*, Mem. Am. Phil. Soc. [in press]), a wretched, largely illegible fragment roughly contemporary with the present text.

The remains of 4477 seem to give the full height of the table, with about 1.5 cm margin at the top and about 0.5 cm margin below the lowermost double ruling. At least three columns have been lost on the left, and at least one on the right. The ruling is in red ink, and the names of heavenly bodies in cols. i, iii, v, and vii and the text in lines 1, 9 and 24 are written in fainter ink than the rest of the text, perhaps being data added to the table by a second hand. Parts of the surface are abraded. The back is blank.

The table is divided horizontally into three sections of eight, seven, and six rows. The top row has been used to inscribe the date and time of the nativity; the name of the individual was perhaps also given in the lost beginning of this line. I do not know the meaning of the text written between the first and second sections and between the third section and the bottom ruling. In the table proper, each row represents one of the objects, the zodiacal positions of which constitute the horoscope. These were surely named in the lost leftmost column, and probably the second column contained the name of the pertinent zodiacal sign and the longitude in degrees. As in the other elaborate horoscopes, each position is considered as belonging to certain conventional partitions of the zodiacal circle associated by astrological doctrine with one or another of the planets. The preserved columns are concerned with the zodiacal signs themselves considered as planetary depressions (*κοιλωματα*) and members of triplicities (*τριγωνον*, comprising groups of three equidistant signs), and with the precise locations within the signs as belonging to terms (*δρια*, unequal subdivisions of a sign), decans (*πρόσωπα*, equal 10° segments of a sign), and single degrees (*μονομοιρία*) lorded by the planets. These are all concepts familiar from the astrological handbooks, but less frequently encountered in documentary horoscopes (the only examples with all of them are LXI 4277 and 4283, texts in Jones, *Astron. Papyri*). It is practically certain that lost columns, probably the first pair after the longitudes, contained the planetary house rulers of the zodiacal signs (cf. Neugebauer and van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* [henceforth *GH*] 7 Fig. 4), since these are always present in elaborate horoscopes. Moreover, it seems unlikely that the planetary depressions were included without columns also for their exaltations (*ἠψώματα*). This could amount to 16 columns, of which the papyrus would preserve the eighth to the fifteenth.

Equally unusual is the large number of astronomical and astrological objects under consideration. Unfortunately the loss of the first columns is an obstacle to establishing what they were. We would expect the top section, with seven objects, to deal with the sun, moon, and five planets in the standard Greek order Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury (*GH* 163-164); and this hypothesis leads to an astronomically consistent restoration of the horoscope and a dating in agreement with what can be read of line 1.

- 1 The transcript does not represent the position of words in this line in the grid precisely. The first preserved writing, preceding the month and day, ought to be the number of the year. A year according to the Diocletianic Era is usual for horoscopes of the fourth century and after, and the traces seem to fit 146, the Diocletianic year corresponding to the date deduced above from the planetary positions; there seems, however, to be a letter or symbol following what I take to be a 'stigma'. For a late horoscope, one expects an unqualified Egyptian calendar date to be according to the civil calendar rather than the old unintercalated calendar preferred in astronomical tables; and this is borne out by the solar longitude.
- 2 $\Delta\beta\epsilon\omega\epsilon$ for the planetary depression in col. v is faint, but the traces are unambiguous. The object in question, which we hypothesize to be the sun, is therefore in Cancer. Venus' terms in Cancer are from $7^{\circ}-13^{\circ}$, in agreement with the recomputed longitude. If col. i contained the triplicities for this part of the table (cf. lines 5-8), we would expect to read triplicity of Mars, and in col. vii, decan of Mercury.
- 3 The moon. Again the sign must be Cancer, the depression of Mars. The traces in cols. i, iii, and vii are too damaged for recognition; for the last degree of Cancer we expect triplicity of Mars, terms of Saturn, and decan of the moon.
- 4 Saturn. Capricorn is the depression of Jupiter, and the terms of Mercury in that sign are $0^{\circ}-7^{\circ}$. The longitude recomputed from the *Handy Tables* would fall within the neighbouring terms of Jupiter. The decan of Jupiter would correspond to $0^{\circ}-10^{\circ}$, compatible with the terms. In col. i we expect the moon as the lord of the triplicity.
- 5 Jupiter. The signs that are the depression of no planet are Taurus, Gemini, Leo, Sagittarius, and Aquarius. Within these signs, the decans Taurus $0^{\circ}-10^{\circ}$, Sagittarius $0^{\circ}-10^{\circ}$, and Aquarius $10^{\circ}-20^{\circ}$ belong to Mercury. Only Sagittarius $0^{\circ}-10^{\circ}$ overlaps terms lorded by Jupiter ($0^{\circ}-12^{\circ}$), although it is just conceivable that Aquarius 20° , which marks the boundary between both decans and terms, could have been assigned to the preceding decan and the following terms of Jupiter. Sagittarius belongs to the triplicity of Jupiter, in agreement with col. i.
- 6 Mars. The traces in col. vii seem to fit $\Delta\beta\epsilon\omega\epsilon$ better than $\Delta\iota\eta\epsilon$. The decans belonging to Mars in signs without depressions are Gemini $10^{\circ}-20^{\circ}$, and Leo $20^{\circ}-30^{\circ}$; the possible decans for Jupiter are the preceding ones in the same two signs. Mercury has terms in Gemini $0^{\circ}-6^{\circ}$ and Leo $18^{\circ}-24^{\circ}$. Col. i, assuming that it gives the lord of the triplicity, confirms Leo as the sign in question.
- 7 Venus. The sign is again Cancer, the depression of Mars, in the triplicity of Mars. The terms of Venus are $7^{\circ}-13^{\circ}$, and Venus' decan is $0^{\circ}-10^{\circ}$, so that the planet's longitude should have been in the range $7^{\circ}-10^{\circ}$; recomputation with the *Handy Tables* gives a slightly higher longitude.
- 8 Mercury. The sign and terms are the same as for Venus, but the decan is Mercury's, i.e. $10^{\circ}-20^{\circ}$. The resulting range, $10^{\circ}-13^{\circ}$, is in agreement with recomputation. The fact that Mercury must have been assigned a higher longitude than Venus shows that the discrepancies with Ptolemy's theory cannot be explained by a constant difference in the assumed zero point of the ecliptic.
- 9 I can make no sense of this line. The first visible writing might be a koppa. The mention of 'minutes' suggests that a number was given here, perhaps a longitude.
- 10-23 The order of columns in the latter part of the table is different from that of lines 2-8, for reasons that might have been clearer if the first columns had not been lost. The triplicity and terms, which occupied the first and second sets of columns in the upper section, are here shifted two columns to the right, while the depressions lose their place. Col. i is poorly preserved for the second and third sections; but Venus seems to be the only possible reading in line 11, and if $\sigma\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\upsilon\epsilon$ is correct in line 10, we must be dealing with either exaltations or depressions. Venus' exaltation is in Pisces, in the triplicity of Mars; its depression, in Virgo, in the triplicity of the moon. Hence column i contained the depressions, and we merely have a reordering of the same series of columns as in the top section.
- 10 The signs in the triplicity of Mercury that have no depression are Gemini and Aquarius. In Gemini the terms of Saturn are $24^{\circ}-30^{\circ}$; in Aquarius, $25^{\circ}-30^{\circ}$. After the seven heavenly bodies, we expect to find the ascendant of the nativity, and a longitude towards the end of Gemini is perfectly acceptable, allowing for the uncertainties in the precise assumed solar longitude, the time for which the horoscope was computed, and the tables used to compute the ascensional differences.
- 11 The sign has been shown above to be Virgo, and the terms of Venus are $7^{\circ}-17^{\circ}$. This fits the lower midheaven, so that the cardines are being listed in order of increasing longitude, which is the conventional order for the *loci* (GH 7-8).

12 This ought to be the setting point, diametrically opposite the ascendant, and hence towards the end of Sagittarius. This fits the specified triplicity and terms (Sagittarius $26^{\circ}-30^{\circ}$ belong to Mars).

13 The midheaven should be diametrically opposite the lower midheaven, about the middle of Pisces. The terms of Jupiter in Pisces are $12^{\circ}-16^{\circ}$, and Jupiter's decan is $10^{\circ}-20^{\circ}$, so that the longitudes of midheaven and lower midheaven can be narrowed down to $12^{\circ}-16^{\circ}$ in their respective signs. Pisces is the depression of Mercury, and a trace of the final upsilon of $\epsilon\rho\mu\omicron\sigma$ may be visible in col. i.

14-23 The last three lines of the middle section and the entire last section of the table present great difficulties in the identification of the objects to which each line belongs. Several other horoscopes list one or more 'lots' ($\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\omicron\iota$), astrologically significant points determined by measuring off an interval from the ascendant point equal to intervals between certain heavenly bodies (GH 8-9); but no other horoscope contains so many lots. In the present horoscope the sun, moon, Venus, and Mercury are all clustered close to the ascendant, making the intervals between them all small, so that any lots dependent on these bodies would be expected to fall close to the ascendant. And in fact all but one of the points in lines 14-23 fall within the interval Gemini 10° -Cancer 26° .

The lot most often given in horoscopes is the Lot of Fortune, which (according to the rule usually followed for nocturnal genitures) is as far behind the ascendant point as the moon is ahead of the sun. Since the moon in the present instance was about 16° ahead of the sun, only line 16 could pertain to the Lot of Fortune. The Lot of Daimon ought to be symmetrically situated to the Lot of Fortune around the ascendant, i.e. in this case about 16° ahead of the ascendant. This could only be line 19. If these identifications are correct, the ascendant must have been close to Gemini 26° , and the moon must have been computed a little closer to the sun than according to the *Handy Tables*. Two other lots, those of Eros and Necessity, are usually twice as far from the ascendant as the Lots of Fortune and Daimon. Line 23 might therefore be one of these, more likely the Lot of Eros. I have no suggestions for the remaining lines.

14 Mars (rather than Jupiter) is assured in col. i by the triplicity, so that the sign is Cancer. The terms of Mars ($0^{\circ}-7^{\circ}$) and decan of Venus ($0^{\circ}-10^{\circ}$) limit the range to Cancer $0^{\circ}-7^{\circ}$.

15 Mercury lords a decan in Taurus ($0^{\circ}-10^{\circ}$) and Virgo ($20^{\circ}-30^{\circ}$) among the signs of the moon's triplicity. If the slight trace in col. v is correctly read as sigma, the only possible range is Virgo $20^{\circ}-28^{\circ}$ (terms of Jupiter and Mars).

16 The readings in this line are all uncertain. If Mercury and Mars are correctly read in cols. iii and vii respectively, the longitude must be within Gemini $10^{\circ}-20^{\circ}$. If, moreover, the apparently short name in col. v was Jupiter's, the range is further narrowed down to Gemini $10^{\circ}-12^{\circ}$.

18 The sign can only be Gemini (decan of the sun, $20^{\circ}-30^{\circ}$). Taking Mars' terms into account, the range is $20^{\circ}-24^{\circ}$.

19 Triplicity, decan, and terms narrow the range to Cancer $7^{\circ}-10^{\circ}$.

20 In Gemini (cf. line 18) the terms of Saturn are $24^{\circ}-30^{\circ}$.

21-22 These positions are indistinguishable from that of line 20.

23 From the triplicity, decan, and terms, the range is Cancer, $20^{\circ}-26^{\circ}$.

24 As in line 9, there seems to have been a number (a longitude?) here. Some text may have broken off below cols. iv-v.

V. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

4478-4480. NOTIFICATIONS OF DEATH

The 83 notifications of death known up to 1985 were republished by Loisa Casarico in *Il controllo della popolazione nell'Egitto romano. 1: Le denunce di morte* = C. Pap. Gr. II(1), of which 23 are from the Oxyrhynchite nome. Her nos. 8, 68 and 76 have now been republished as SB XVI 12383, 13040 and 12712 respectively, and no. 29 as SB XVIII 13368; in addition five new texts have been published (none from the Oxyrhynchite): P. Prag. I 19, P. Tebt. inv. 21016, edited by Urania Molyviati-Toptsi in *ZPE* 77 (1989) 281-2, and P. Hamb. inv. 494, P. Heid. inv. G 512 and P. Gen. inv. 46, edited by Ruth Duttenhöfer in *ZPE* 79 (1989) 227-34. Casarico tabulates the phraseology of the documents according to nome and analyses their form in her introduction; she also gives a comprehensive list of previous literature on the subject (see notes 15-21 on pp. 9-10).

The three texts published here bring to 91 the total of death notifications now known. All of them conform in broad terms to the patterns expected in the Oxyrhynchite at the date at which they were written, but each of them has a few points of special interest.

4478

72/71(a)

7 × 21.2 cm

15 December 74

The papyrus is complete apart from a few holes and some stripping. The back is blank. It contains a notification by Nicias of the death of his father Theon addressed to the scribes of the city.

The first hand is a fluent, rounded cursive typical of the period, in which the lines have a marked tendency to slant upwards to the right. The second hand is the same as the second hand in XLIX 3510 (= C. Pap. Gr. II 15), first published, with plate, by Robert Hübner in *ZPE* 30 (1978) 198-200. This is addressed to the same two officials as the present text, but is dated some four years later in AD 78/79 (not 79/80 as is recorded in the two earlier editions).

Διογένει και Ἀπολλ[λο]φ[άνει] [γρ]α[μματεῦσι] Ὁξυρύχ(ων)
 πόλεως
 παρὰ Νικίου τοῦ Θέ[ωνος] τῶν
 ἀπ' Ὁξυρύχων π[όλε]ως.
 5 ὁ σημαινόμενος [μου] πατήρ
 Θέων Νικίωνος ἀπογρα-
 φόμενος ἐπ' ἀμφ[ό]δ[ο]ν Τεμ-
 γενουῦθως ἐτελε[ύ]τησεν
 τῷ διεληλυθότι [ἔτε]ι διό

10 ἀξιῶ ἀναγράψ[ε]σθαι
 τοῦτον ἐν τοῖ[ς] τ[ε]τε-
 λευτηκόσι ὡ[ς] ἐπὶ τῶν
 ὁμοίων καὶ ὁμνύω
 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα
 15 Ὀυεσπασιανὸν Σεβαστῶν
 ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ προγε-
 γραμμένα.
 (m. 2) Διογένης σεση[μειω]μαι. (ἔτους) ἐ[β]δόμου
 Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 20 Ὀυεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ,
 Χο[ι]ακ[ίου] ἰθ[ύ].

1 ἀπολλ[λο]φ[άνει] 2 [γρ]α[μματεῦσι] 6 Νικίωνος, initial ν corrected from μ 10 l. ἀξιῶ Filler stroke
 at end 18 σετ[ε] 21 χ[ο]ι[ακ]

'To Diogenes and Apolophanes, scribes of the city of the Oxyrhynchi, from Nicias son of Theon, of the people of the city of the Oxyrhynchite.

'My aforementioned father, Theon son of Nicion, registered in the Temgenouthis quarter, died in the past year (?); wherefore I request that he be recorded among the deceased as is the case with similar persons, and I swear by Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus that the above declaration is true.'

'(2nd hand) I, Diogenes, have signed it. Seventh year of Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, Choiak 19.'

1-2 The same two officials, but with their names in the reverse order, are found in five other texts: SB XII 10788B (AD 62), P. Gen. II 94=SB XIV 11974 (AD 63/4), PSI VIII 871 (AD 65) and PUG I 12 (c. AD 72/3), in all of which they are described as τοπογραμματοῖς καὶ κοιμογραμματοῖς; and XLIX 3510 (AD 78/9), where, as in the present text, they are described as γραμματεῖς πόλεως. Cf. the comments of Hübner in *ZPE* 30 (1978) 199; Strassi, *ZPE* 88 (1991) 118-9.

On the office of γραμματεῖς πόλεως at Oxyrhynchus see Paul Mertens, *Les Services de l'État civil*, 2-7 and 69. It is unusual to find the title including the word 'Ὁξυρύχων'; for a parallel see PSI VIII 952.11-12 (= C. Pap. Gr. II 22).

5 σημαινόμενος: in similar notifications the word occurs only in I 79 5 and SB XIV 11706.14 (= C. Pap. Gr. II 65 and 24); cf. also I 76 6.

6 Νικίωνος: a rare name, otherwise attested only in P. Tebt. III 871.5, 1071.6 and SB IV 7451.43 (all Ptolemaic).

6-7 ἀπογραφόμενος: much less common in comparable phrases than ἀναγραφόμενος; for a parallel see XLIX 3510 3. There is a similar variation between the two words in applications to register children: most have ἀναγραφῆναι, but P. Corn. 18.5 has ἀπογραφῆναι. On a possible distinction between the two compounds see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 395 n. 10.

7-8 Τεμγενουῦθως: for the different spellings of the name of this quarter see Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario*, s.v.; LXIV 4441 v 9 n. Other death notifications from this quarter are II 262, XLI 2957 and P. Merton II 84. H. Rink, *Straßen- und Viertelnamen von Oxyrhynchus*, 35, observed that the use of the district name was similar

to that of districts bearing theophoric names, e.g. ἐν τῷ Καισαρίῳ, ἐν τῷ Ἰεεῖῳ, and added: 'das sind aller entweder Tempel oder größere öffentliche Bauten, Temenosdoric wird also etwas Ähnliches sein'. If the name Temgenouthis is a Hellenisation of *t3 wmi(i)-n-nb*, 'the gateway (or wall) of the god' (see A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache* I 307, *wmi* 2), Rink's theory would be corroborated.

9 [ἐτε]: spacing favours this as against [μηρ]ς; whichever is correct, it is surprising that the relevant month or year was not specified. The only parallel in such notifications is VII 1030=C. Pap. Gr. II 71, where line 10 reads ἐτελ(εύτησε) τῷ διελ() εἶται (the editors and Casarico expand διελ(θάντι); διελ(ηλυθάντι) is also possible).

9-10 διὰ ἀξίων: see the note to 4479 8 ff.

11-12 ἐν τοῖς ἐτελευτηκόσι: an expression found several times in notifications from the Arsinoite nome, but not previously attested for the Oxyrhynchite in exactly this form.

12-13 ὡ[ς] ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμῶων: again, a very common expression in the Arsinoite but only attested once in the Oxyrhynchite: XLIX 3510 17.

D. MONTSERRAT

4479

44 5B.62/E(1-2)a

6.1 × 27.2 cm

29 January 179

Amois alias Dionysius reports the death of his slave, who had died some time previously. The notification is unusual in that it lacks an address, but otherwise keeps reasonably close to the standard Oxyrhynchite form. The back is blank.

παρὰ Ἀμόιτος τοῦ καὶ Δ[ιο-]
 νυσίου Διογένους μητρ[ός]
 Ἰσαροῦτος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύνχων πόλ(εως).
 ὁ δοῦλός μου Εὐτύχης ὁ καὶ
 5 Ψιαθᾶς τέλ(ειος) ἀγαγραφόμε[ε-]
 νος ἐπ' ἀμφόδοι Πλατ[είας]
 ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτι πάλ[αι].
 διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι τὸ [ύ]πό-
 μνημα ἀξίων ἀν[α-]
 10 γραφῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν
 τῶν ὁμῶων τάξι(ν) ὡ[ς] κα-
 θῆκι καὶ ὁμνύω τὴν
 τῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων
 Καισάρων Μάρκου Αὐρηλί[ου]
 15 Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Λουκίου
 Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδοι
 Σεβαστῶν τύχην μη
 <ε>ψεύσθαι. (ἔτους) ιθ Αὐτοκρατόρων
 Καί[ς]αρων Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου

20 Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Λουκίου Αὐρηλί[ου]
 Κομμόδοι Σεβαστῶν
 Ἀρμ[ε]νιακῶν Μηδικῶν
 [Π]αρθ[ικ]ῶν Γερμανικῶν
 [Σ]αρματικῶν Μεγίστων,
 25 Μεχειρ δ. Ἀμόις ὁ καὶ Διογ(ύσιος)
 ἐπιδεδωκα. (m²) Πτολ()
 ὁ κ[[αῖ]] . . () ξ[ί]χρον τούτ[ο]υ
 τὸ ἴσον.
 Space of 8 cm
 Traces of one line

3 π^ολ 5 π^ελ 11 I. ὁμῶων 12 I. καθήκει 13 αυτοκρατορων- 17 τυχην,
 υ corrected 18 L 25 διογ^ω 26 πτολ^λ

'From Amois alias Dionysius son of Diogenes, mother Isarous, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi.

'My slave Eutyches alias Psiathas, adult, registered in the Square quarter, died some time ago; wherefore I present the notification asking that he be registered in the list of those of a similar category as is fitting, and I swear by the *genius* of the Imperatores Caesares Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus Augusti not to have lied.

'Year 19 of Imperatores Caesares Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus Augusti Armeniaci Medici Parthici Germanici Sarmatici Maximi, Mecheir 4. I, Amois alias Dionysius, have presented (the notification).'

(2nd hand) 'I, Ptolemaeus (?) alias ..., have got the duplicate of this.'

(3rd hand?) '.....'.

1 Nearly all notifications of death open with the formula τῷ δεῖνι παρὰ τοῦ δέονος. Only three other death notices certainly lack an address: BGU XI 2021, LII 3689 and SPP XX 36 (=C. Pap. Gr. II 73, 74bis and 78). As is suggested in the introduction to BGU 2021 (cf. also 3689 intro.), we are no doubt dealing with a copy made in the office of the official to whom it was addressed. At Oxyrhynchus in the second century this official would have been the γραμματεὺς πόλεως (see 4478 1-2 n.). Note that the subscription of the person making the notification is in the same hand as the actual notification (similarly 3689).

4 Other death notices concerning slaves are II 262, VII 1030, XXXI 2564, XLI 2957, XLIX 3510, BGU III 773, P. Stras. VI 528 and SPP XX 36 (=C. Pap. Gr. II 9, 71, 44, 17, 15, 19, 50 and 77 respectively).

5 Ψιαθᾶς: the name is rare. *Namenbuch* has only two references and in texts published subsequently it has occurred only in SB VI 9370.iii.22.

τέλ(ειος): some texts have τελῶν at this point, but it is always followed by a named tax (e.g. τὴν λογογραφίαν). Other words used at this point describe either the decessor's trade or his age, usually ἀφῆλιξ or ὑπερηχ. As there is no obvious trade beginning τέλ and as P. Mich. X 579.9-10 (=C. Pap. Gr. II 40) reads τέλε[ς]ος at a comparable place, we can confidently expand τέλ(ειος) here. In SB XVIII 13244.16 and 21 (a Hawara papyrus first published by J. G. Milne in *Archiv* 5, 395-6) τέλ is expanded τέλ(εντήσαντες), on Wilcken's suggestion. Casarico has suggested τέλ(ούτης) as an alternative (C. Pap. Gr. II, p. 18 n. 40), and the present text suggests τέλ(ειος) as another possibility.

7 ἔτι πάλ[αι]: the same expression in XXXVI 2761 B, BGU XIII 2230.ii.13, SB XVI 13040.6 (=C. Pap. Gr. II 51, 48 and 68), and in P. Prag. I 19.14; cf. also VIII 1111 ii.13.

8 ff. In the Oxyrhynchite *διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι* ... *ἀξίων* is much less common than *διὸ ἀξίω* up to the middle of the second century, but thereafter it is used in almost all notifications. The closest parallel for the wording in the present text (to line 18) is P. Mert. II 84 (=C. Pap. Gr. II 66) of AD 201.

10-11 *εἰς τὴν τῶν ὁμίων τάξιν*(ν): for *οἶν* see Gignac, *Grammar* I, 197. The comparable expression found in other notifications is invariably *ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμοίων τάξει* and there is no parallel for the use of *εἰς*. One may compare XXXVIII 2855 15-16, which reads *ταγῆναι [εἰς] τὴν τῶν ὁμηλικῶν τάξιν*, at a point at which similar texts (e.g. P. Corn. 18.17) have *ταγῆναι ἐν τῇ τῶν ὁμηλικῶν τάξει*.

18 <ἐ>ψεύθεαι: the initial epsilon is not infrequently omitted in this infinitive (e.g. XXXVI 2761 13); see Gignac, *Grammar* I, 319-20. In the present text, however, it is not impossible that the epsilon was written at the end of line 17.

25 A large proportion of notifications are submitted in Mecheir and it has therefore been deduced that poll-tax was not payable for the second half of the Egyptian year for those whose decease had been reported by the end of the first six months: see C. Pap. Gr. II, p. 17.

25-6 The *ἐπιδέδωκα* phrase is found in three other Oxyrhynchite notifications from the Roman period (VII 1030, IX 1198 and LII 3689=C. Pap. Gr. II 71, 39 and 74bis) but in all three it is followed by *καὶ ὁμόκετα/ὁμόκα τὸν ὄρκον*. By itself (as here) it occurs elsewhere only in 4480, from the early fourth century, where the imperial oath is also omitted; see the introduction to 4480.

27-8 *ἐ[ξ]χοῦ τούτ[ο]ν τῶ ἱσῶν*: in Oxyrhynchite notifications from the later first century there are several examples of the official receiving the notification recording his name and *εσημεῖωμαι* at the foot (e.g. 4478 18), but the only Oxyrhynchite parallel in such texts for the expression used here is VII 1030 24-5 (=C. Pap. Gr. II 71) of AD 212. The expression was, however, quite commonly used in notifications from the Arsinoite nome. When it does occur in texts from Oxyrhynchus these are nearly always leases, and it is found only rarely in official documents, e.g. XXXI 2567 35-6. It seems fairly clear that the official in 4479 26 ff. had an alias, but what followed *δ κ[]* is very uncertain. For an official giving his name only in this expression without the addition of his office cf. P. Stras. V 306.14-15=C. Pap. Gr. II 74.

29 This line no doubt contained a docket in a different hand, but nothing is now legible.

J. SPOONER

4480

18 2B.69/A(e)

11.8 x 25.6 cm

26 February 311

In this document Aurelia Eirene informs the systates of the death of her husband Isidorus. Of the 91 death notifications known to date this is only the third from the late third/early fourth century. The other two are XLIII 3141 of 299/300 and XII 1551 of 304 (=C. Pap. Gr. II 81-82); all three are from Oxyrhynchus and addressed to the systates. 4480 has a number of interesting features discussed in the notes. In addition it is noteworthy that the declarant acts without a *κύριος* and that the notification lacks an oath. It is not unusual for the declarant to be a woman (this is the case in seven out of 26 Oxyrhynchite examples), but elsewhere only in LII 3689 and XLIII 3141 (=C. Pap. Gr. 74bis and 81) do the women make no reference to a *κύριος* (cf. 3689, intro.). The omission of an oath is common in death notifications from the Arsinoite, but in other notifications from the Oxyrhynchite which are complete at the relevant point the declarant always swears an oath; of the two from the late third/early fourth century in particular, 3141 includes an oath and 1551 is unclear.

The main hand is a distinctive angular cursive. The back is blank. There is a remarkable three-layer *kollesis* at the right-hand edge which overlaps right over left, i.e. the opposite way to what would have been expected.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Γαλερίου
Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ηS// καὶ Γαλερίου
Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ BS//.

5 (m. 1) Αὐρηλίω (m. 2) Βηράμμωνι Χαιρήμονος
κυστάτης τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμπροτάτης Ὀξ(υρηνχιδῶν)
πόλεως

παρὰ Αὐρηλίας Εἰρήνης Ἀμμωνίου ἀπὸ τῆς
αὐτῆς πόλεως. ὁ ἡμέτερος ἀνὴρ Ἰσιδώρος
Ἰέρακος χριστιῆς τὴν τέχνην γενόμε-
νος ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Ἀλεξανδρία ὑπὸ ζυ . . .

10 νόσου κυς .εἰς τὸν βίον μετήλλαξεν,
καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τούτου τὸ ὄνομα ἔλαττω-
θῆναι διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ ζου ἐπιδιδομένων
βιβλίων τοῦ ἐπικεφαλίου τάδε τὰ βιβλία
15 ἐπιδίδωμι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἄγνοιαν ὑποτι-
μήσασθαι.

ὑπατείας τῆς προκιμένης, Φαμενώθ β.
20 Αὐρηλία Ἰρήνη ἐπιδέδωκα. Αὐρηλίος
Εὐδαίμωνος Δίου ἔγραφα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
γράμματα μὴ ἰδυίης.

(m. 4) ἐλλάσσω
Ἰσιδώρου [Ἰέρ]ακος χ(ρι)στοῦ ἀθηρᾶ.

5	l. <i>κυστάτη</i> ; <i>οξ/</i>	8	<i>ισιδωρος</i>	9	<i>ιερακος</i>	l.	<i>χειριστης</i>	10	l. <i>Αλεξανδρία</i>	11	<i>κυσ .εἰς</i> :
see n.	12-13	<i>ελαττωθηραι</i>	14	<i>βιβλιων</i> , 2nd <i>β</i> written over <i>λ</i> ;	l.	<i>επικεφαλαιου</i>	17	l.			
		<i>προκιμένης</i> ; <i>φαμενωθ</i> , <i>ω</i> corrected from <i>θ</i>	18	<i>ιρηνη</i> , l. <i>Εἰρήνη</i>	19	l. <i>Εὐδαίμων</i>	20	<i>ιδυίης</i> ,			
		l. <i>ειδυίης</i>	21	l. <i>ἐλλάσσω</i>	22	<i>ισιδωρου</i> ; <i>ψ</i> , l. <i>χειριστοῦ</i>					

'In the consulship of our masters Galerius Valerius Maximianus Augustus VIII and Galerius Valerius Maximinus Augustus II.

'To Aurelius (2nd hand) Besammon son of Chaeremon, (1st hand) systates of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, from Aurelia Eirene, daughter of Ammonius, from the same city.

'My husband, Isidorus son of Hierax, assistant by trade, while in the most illustrious Alexandria . . . disease . . . departed this life; and for the purpose of his name being removed from the poll-tax records returned by you I present this notification so that you cannot allege ignorance.

'In the aforesaid consulship, Phamenoth 2 (?).'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelia Eirene, presented (the notification). I, Aurelius Eudaemon son of Dios, wrote on her behalf since she does not know letters.'

(4th hand) 'Application for removal (from the poll-tax list) of Isidorus son of Hierax, assistant porridge-seller (?).'

4-5 *Αἰρηλῶ Βρεάμμων Χαιρήμωνος κυστάτης* (l. *κυστάτη*): on the office of *systates* see **4489** 3 n. No *systates* of this name was previously known. He is perhaps to be identified with the Aurelius Besamion attested in **XL 2894** of AD 270, even though that text is some 40 years earlier. Besamion there was a *χειροτονητής* who, along with others, was acting on behalf of the phylarch (see line 37 n.), and the *systates* replaced the phylarch at Oxyrhynchus in the 280s. The original writer did not know the name to insert but was sure that its bearer would be an Aurelius; on this feature in other documents see James G. Keenan, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 245-50.

6 It is not clear whether the writer left the rest of this line blank for the name of the amphodon to be inserted (as occurs in **XLIII 3141** 4); in **XII 1551** and several other documents the *systates* is described simply as *systates* of the city.

8 A remarkable use of the 'royal we', for which there is a parallel in the contemporary **XVII 2133** 19.

9 The addition of *τὴν τέχνην* to *χειριστής* is not found elsewhere. On Isidorus' probable occupation see the note to line 22. Although the *χειριστής* is most frequently met with in papyri of the first four centuries AD as an assistant to the tax-collectors, the word had a much wider use than this.

10-11 *ὅπὸ* *κυ...* *νόσου* *κυς* *εἰς*: *ὅπὸ* superimposed over extended tail of alpha preceding *κυς* *εἰς*: clumsy, corrected or corrupt. *κυχεθείς* intended? For the expression compare P. Herm. 19.11, *καὶ νόσῳ κυχεθείς ἐπὶ δὴν ὀκτάμηνον* (cf. also **VI 896** 33-4); for the use of *ὅπὸ* with *νόσου* cf., e.g., **SB VI 9218.12**, *ὅπὸ νόσου λοιμώδους τῆς ἄρθρου διαφθάρηαι*. Or *κυρακίς* for *κυστάτης*, or *κυρθεκίς* for *κυρθεκίς*? For the meaning of *νόσου* in the papyri cf. G. Casanova, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 163-201, esp. 168-70. There is no other notification in which the cause of death is indicated. There was an outbreak of plague around this time, cf. **LV 3816** introd.

11 *τὸν βίον μετέλλαξεν*: the same expression is found in the other two late third/early fourth century death notifications, **XII 1551** 13 and **XLIII 3141** 12. It may well occur also in **IV 826**=C. Pap. Gr. II 1 of the reign of Augustus, but is not found in any other such notifications.

12-13 *ἐλαττωθήναι*: the only exact parallel is **PSI VI 691.11**=C. Pap. Gr. II 56, probably from the Oxyrhynchite. The same idea of removing a name from the tax lists is conveyed in the contemporary **XLIII 3141** 12 ff. by the words *ἐπιδιδόμενον τήνδε τὴν ἐλάττωσιν ἀξιοῦσα κουφισθῆναι αὐτόν*; see further below, line 21 n. In a few other notifications the verb *περιαιρέω* is used in this sense, see C. Pap. Gr. II, index s.v. (add now P. Tebt. inv. 21016 in *ZPE* 77 (1989) 281); cf. the use of *περιγραφῆναι* in **I 173** 12 (=C. Pap. Gr. II 54). In a list of AD 72/3 names no longer liable for poll-tax are described as *ἡλασσωμένον* (**SPP IV**, p. 72, l. 497). On the meaning of *ἐλάσσωμα* in connection with taxes see S. L. Wallace, *Taxation*, 107, 203 and 407 n. 17.

13-14 *διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιδιδόμενον βιβλίων*: there is no other example of *ἐπιδίδωμι* being used of submissions by the official in connection with death notifications. Elsewhere the word used is *καταχωρίζω*; see especially **I 173** 9 ff. (=C. Pap. Gr. II 54), *δι[α] τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ καταχωριζομένων δημοσίων βιβλίων* (cf. P. Ross. Georg. II 11.10-11=C. Pap. Gr. II 3, from the Arsinoite). In **PSI 691.12** ff. (cf. the previous note) the editor suggests *διὰ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ καταχωριζομ[ένων] δημοσίων [λόγ]ων*, which is supported by **IX 1198** 18-20 (=C. Pap. Gr. II 39).

14 *τοῦ ἐπικεφαλίου*: see **4490** 10 n.

15-16 *πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἄγνοιαν υποτιμῆσθαι*: there is a good parallel in **XIX 2228** 36, *ἡ δὲ μηδεμίαν ἄγνοιαν υποτιμῆσθε*; cf. also **VIII 1119** 11 and P. Sakaon 37-5.

17 *Φαινεῖθ β'*: the day of the month is not certain.

21 *ἐλλόσιος*: the only other certain occurrence of this word in the papyri is **XLIII 3141** 13 (quoted above), which makes it clear that it is to be understood as a description of a document relating to the deletion of a name from an official record. The word may also appear in **L 3588** 17 (so the editor), but there the abbreviation *ἐλασ()* may be of a participial form of the verb.

22 *χί(ρις)τοῦ*: a common form of the abbreviation, on which cf. A. Blanchard, *Sigles et abréviations dans les papyrus*, 6, and **CPR VIII** 51.2 n.

ἀθήρα: presumably to be understood as the genitive of *ἀθηρᾶς* meaning a producer or seller of *ἀθήρα*. On *ἀθήρα*, which is often mentioned in the papyri, see Emanuela Battaglia, 'Artos'. *Il lessico della panificazione*

nei papiri greci, 103-4, and to her references add now P. Brooklyn 22.4; F. Perpillou-Thomas, *Agg.* 72 (1992) 103-110. It seems to mean a porridge-like mixture used 'come cibo ma anche come linimento in medicina'. There are also one or two references to the diminutive *ἀθήριον* (Battaglia, 104) and to a purveyor of this 'porridge' called *ἀθηροπώλης* (Battaglia, 165). The word *ἀθηρᾶς* is new, but it is well known that nouns in *-ᾶς* were formed to describe workers in various occupations ('noms de métier', 'Gewerbenamen'), e.g. *πατριλάς*, *πλακωννῆς* (Battaglia, 119 and 195). The existence of such words in the papyri was first discussed by B. Olsson in *Aegyptus* 6 (1925) 247-9, who listed over 20. Olivier Masson has subsequently identified several more words in this category, see *ZPE* 9 (1972) 97-101, and 11 (1973) 1-19 = *Onomastica Graeca selecta I* (1990) 163-181.

D. MONTSERRAT

4481. AUTHENTICATED COPY OF A PETITION TO THE PREFECT

20 3B.31/D(11)a

29 × 18.5 cm

11-26 March 179

This large sheet contains an authenticated copy, or rather two copies, of a petition to the prefect T. Pactumeius Magnus together with his *scriptio*. The *scriptio* is dated 15 Phamenoth of year 19 = 11 March 179, and the copy was made before the end of the same month (line 14). Lines 1-12 contain one copy of the petition; after a space of 3 cm there follows the 'attestation clause' (lines 13-17), in which the petitioner swears to have made an exact copy of the petition and the *scriptio*; there then follows a second copy of the petition, now mostly lost. On the back of this lower copy are the remains of the signatures of the witnesses, written at an angle of 90° to the writing on the front. Thus **4481** is exactly parallel in format to **BGU II 525+III 970**=M. Chr. 242 (which also concerns Pactumeius Magnus), **XVII 2131**, and **BGU XI 2061** (both from the prefecture of Subatianus Aquila); see also **PSI IX 1026**=*ChLA* **XXV 784**, a Latin petition submitted to the *legatus Aug. pro praetore* of Syria Palaestina. All five texts contain two copies of the petition (for **BGU 525+970** see Wilcken, *Archiv* 9 (1930) 95), and can thus be classed as 'double documents'. Double documents were used extensively throughout the Empire, for Roman legal documents, military diplomata, etc. A large number of the papyri from Dura-Europos and from Judaea are in this format, as are many of the papyri found in Egypt but written elsewhere (e.g. **PSI 1026** referred to above). Note in particular P. Yadin 33 and 34, which are fragments of authenticated copies of petitions similar to the texts mentioned above. On double documents in general see E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso*, 26 ff., esp. 37-42, and N. Lewis in P. Yadin, pp. 6-10, who quotes further bibliography, as does R. Haensch in *ZPE* 100 (1994) 500 n. 45; add *ChLA* **III 200**, intro. It was Turner who first drew attention to the important fact that many such documents are written *across* the fibres, *transversa charta*. This is a feature which applies to all the authenticated copies referred to above. Similarly **4481** is written *across* the fibres in the form of what Turner called a 'rotulus'. Two kollesis are visible.

The reason for the general format is clearly set out by Hunt in the introduction to **XVII 2131**: it was to enable one copy of the petition to be rolled up and sealed, leaving the other copy exposed for consultation. It was the upper copy = the *scriptio interior* which was sealed, and the lower copy = the *scriptio exterior* which was left exposed,

and on the back of which the witnesses signed their names. Hunt thought there were six witnesses in **2131** and Wilcken originally thought this true also for BGU 525 (*Archiv* cit.). Later, however, Wilcken pointed out that the number to be expected in view of the Roman practice to be seen in parallel documents was *seven*: see *Archiv* 11 (1935) 129–30. He remarked further that subsequent re-inspection of the original of BGU 525 confirmed that the papyrus could indeed have had seven witnesses, and he therefore suspected that there were really seven witnesses in **2131**; unfortunately this cannot now be checked as the original has been lost. There were certainly seven witnesses in PSI 1026, and in our text there is no real doubt that the fragments should be so placed as to record the remains of seven signatures. BGU 2061 was claimed by its editor to have remains of *eight* small seals. Some of the seals are broken, and to judge from a photograph kindly supplied by Dr Günter Poethke, I wonder whether there were only seven different seals in reality. Faint traces remain of at least one seal in our text. The witnesses' signatures, also written across the fibres, are well spaced out with 2–3 cm between each entry, as is the normal practice; cf., e.g., P. Mich. VII 434, illustrated in Plate IV and *ChLA* IV 249, and P. Yadin 20, illustrated in Plate 24. Note that in **4481** the signatures start on the back of what was the foot of the document on the front; in a number of other texts, e.g. PSI 1026, they start at a level corresponding to the top of the lower document on the front, and this seems to have been the more usual practice (cf. Yadin, quoted in P. Yadin, p. 10).

Three other papyri contain authenticated copies of petitions to the prefect of Egypt: SB X 10537, XIV 11980 (a re-edition of PSI XII 1245) and XVI 13059. I **35** as restored by Wilcken, *Hermes* 55 (1920) 32, may be another example (although the verb of attestation does not appear in the fragment which survives and there is no likelihood of witnesses' signatures as the back has been used for an unrelated text), as may the very fragmentary P. Stras. IV 235. Since SB 11980 is a quotation within another petition, it naturally only exists in a single copy (but the reference in the attestation clause, line 13, to τὸ προγεγραμμένον βιβλ[ίδιον] indicates that the original document did have two copies of the petition). The format of SB 10537 and 13059 is unclear on this point. Note also SB XIV 11707.11, where the words βιβλιδεῖον μαρτυροποίημα undoubtedly refer to an authenticated copy of a petition to the prefect: see G. Foti Talamanca, *Ricerche sul Processo nell'Egitto greco-romano*, II (1), 173 n. 337, and cf. J. R. Rea, *BASP* 14 (1977) 22. There are also a few inscriptions of a similar type, recording authenticated copies of rescripts of emperors: see W. Williams, *ZPE* 22 (1976) 235–40.

On this type of document see the commentary to IGBulg. IV 2236, Wilcken, *Hermes* 55 (1920) 1–42 and *Archiv* 9 (1930) 15–23, Ann Hanson, *ZPE* 55 (1984) 191–9, and R. Haensch, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 499–505. On the more general question of *propositio libellorum* (especially by emperors) there is an enormous bibliography: in addition to the articles just cited see in particular A. A. Schiller, P. Col. VI, pp. 39–42, d'Ors and Martin, *AJP* 100 (1979) 111–24, D. Nörr, *ZRG* 98 (1981) 1–46, W. Williams, *JRS* 64 (1974) 98–101, *ZPE* 40 (1980) 283–94 and 66 (1986) 181–207, Fergus Millar, *The*

Emperor in the Roman World, 240–52, esp. 244–9; all quote further studies, as does Haensch, *ZPE* 100, 488, nn. 4 and 5.

In the introduction to XVII **2131**, the first document of this type to be recognised, Hunt remarked 'Its form is especially interesting. The copy to be certified ... was begun at a distance of about 12 cm from the top of the sheet. In this blank space, added in a more cursive hand, is a second copy'. The same is no doubt true of **4481** (except that the upper copy is not written more cursorily): lines 13 ff. were written first and lines 1–12 added afterwards; there is a space of 3 cm at the top and of 3 cm after line 12. It does, however, differ from **2131** in two respects: (a) **2131** includes two copies of both the petition and the attestation clause; and the same is true of BGU 525+970 and PSI 1026. BGU 2061 agrees with **4481** in including only one copy of the attestation clause, in between the two copies of the petition. (b) **2131** does not include the prefect's *subscriptio* at the end of the attestation clause, in which it agrees with the other examples; **4481** is unique in giving the *subscriptio* at this point (line 17) as well as at the end of the petition.

The upper copy of the petition in **4481** is mostly preserved, as is the attestation clause; the small amount lost at the right can be gauged from the certain restoration of line 13, cf. line 8 and note. But although the loss is small it is sufficient to prevent us understanding clearly the nature of the petitioner's grievance, and in particular its legal basis, which is considered further in the note to lines 5 ff. I am most grateful to Dr Barbara Anagnostou-Cañas for sending me thorough and detailed comments on the legal position and the general background. The remarks made in the note referred to owe a good deal to points which she has suggested to me, but I must stress that they represent my own views and that she is in no way to be held responsible for them. I am also grateful for their comments to Prof. H.-A. Rupprecht and Dr Daniel Delattre.

This much is clear: the petitioner is complaining about his wife, who has gone off with property to some or all of which he claims she has no right. For a recent study of comparable texts see Ilias Arnaoutoglou, 'Marital disputes in Greco-Roman Egypt', *JJP* 25 (1995) 11–28. Usually it is the wife complaining about her husband. Of petitions from husbands listed by Arnaoutoglou on p. 21 n. 18 only three or four are comparable to **4481**: in II **282**, P. Heid. III 237 (= Arnaoutoglou's P. Heid. I 13) and P. Lond. V 1651 the wife is said to have gone off with property to which she was not entitled; in SB XVI 12505 she is alleged to have sold property which belonged to both husband and wife without his permission (P. Princ. II 77 may be similar). Comparable wording to that found in our text is to be seen in PSI V 463, but there it is the wife complaining about her husband, and in BGU VIII 1774, where sons complain against their mother. Our petitioner is not in fact asking the prefect to take action on this matter, about which he has already petitioned the epistrategus, but merely to ensure that his wife turns up in court when the case comes up for trial.

The other feature of special interest is the prefect's *subscriptio*. It is noteworthy that the petitioner is referred to the epistrategus although he had asked for instructions to be given to the strategus; cf. on this J. D. Thomas, *Roman epistrategos*, 124–5. Much more remarkable is the word ἀνέγερσθα with which the *subscriptio* ends; on this see the note to line 12.

1 Τῶν Πακτομηρῶν Μάργνω τῶ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνι vacat
 παρὰ Ἀπίωνος επικαλουμένου Πανσειριάνος ἀπ' Ὁξυρινύχων πόλεως. συνελθόντ[ο]ς μου κύριε ἐτι π(ἀ)υαι
 γυναικί τυι Τα[] c. 11 τῆ και
 Cαραποῦτι και παρὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν συνβιώσεως ὠνη[σ]αμένου ἐν δνόματι ταύτης
 τινά .[] . . . εκ . . . πολλὰ . . . [] c. 14
 ἐν τε χρυσίοις και σκεύεσι και ἱματίοις και ἐνδομενεῖα και ὦν [έ]π' αὐτὴν πεποιήμαι οικονομῶν βιβλία
 ἐπι τὴν ἀπὸ σο[υ] τοῦ κυρίου κατα-
 5 φέρῳ δικαιοδοσίαν. πολλῶν γὰρ μάλλον σὺ δ κύριος ἐπίστράει δτι ὄσα ἐὰν γυνῆ ἐν τῶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἴκῳ
 ἀνδρὸς κἂν μεταλλάξῃ τῆς παιδοποιίας. τῶ γὰρ διελθόντι νη [έ]τει Ἀθηλαίων Ἀντωνίου και Κοιμμόδου
 δνόματι ταύτης ἐώνημαί τιν[α] και μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον α .[] . . . [] . . . μ .[] . . . π[] ἄντα ἐξεφόρη[σ]ε[]
 τὸν κυρίων Ἀβ[]οκρατόρων c. 4 ἐν
 τὶ αὐτῆς πειράται ἀπενέγκασθαι. ἐπὶ ταῖτοις ἡγεμόνι κύριε πο[]λ[]λ[]δ[] π[]λε[]ο[]ρεκτοῦμένος δπ' αὐτῆς ἐτέτο[]χο[]ν
 ἐπιστρατήγῳ διὰ βιβλιδίου ἀνὰ ταῦτα ἐξέιστορήσας κ[α]ι ἀνεδέξατο τὴν διάγνωναι. τῆ[] ὄν ἀντιδικῶν
 10 δόμοι ἐάν σου τῆ τύχη δόξῃ κελύσαι γραφήναι τῶ το[υ] νομοῦ ετρα(ατηρῶ) ὅπως ἐπαναγάκῃ αὐτῆν
 σου συναμβανούσης τὰ ἴδια ἀπολαβεῖν δυνήθῳ ἢ ὧ εὐ[ε]ρη[ε]τήμένος. διευτῦχει. Ἀπ[]των ἐπικαλούμενος
 δῶκα ἐμαντῶ συναξάμενος τὸ βιβλιδιον. (έτους) ιθ // Φα[]μενῶβ ἱε. τῶ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρ(ατηρῶ) ἐντυχε[],
 ἀντέγρ[α]ψα []
 Space of 3 cm

έτους ἐνακαιδεκάτου Ἀντοκρατόρων Κ[α]ιςάραν Μάρκου Ἀθήρη[λο]υ ἂντ[]νῶου και Λουκίου Ἀθρηλαίου
 Κοιμόδου Σεβαστῶν Ἀρμενιακῶν

15 Μηδικῶν Παρθικῶν Γερμανικῶν Μεγίστων, Φ[]α[]μεινῶ[θ] ἐ[]μαρτύροστο Ἀ[]π[]ί[]ων ἐπ[]καλούμενος
 νοῦ και προσαντιβελ[]η[]μείνον τὸ ἔργο[]εργα[]μῆνον ἂντῶν γραφον βιβλιδιοῦ ἂν απ[]ε[]μ[]μ[]φθέντος δπ[]ὸ
 Πανσειριάνος ἐκ[]γεγραμμέ-
 Μάργνω τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος προτεθέν[]ος c. 14 ἐν τῆ[] τοῦ γυνιασίου διπλῆ[] ἐπιπ[]έδῳ
 Πακτομηρίου
 (έτους) ιθ // Φαμενῶβ ἱε. τῶ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατ[]ήγῳ ἐντυχε. ἀντέγραψ[]α. vacat
 Τῶν Πακτομηρῶν Μάργνω τῶ λαμπροτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι] vacat
 παρὰ Ἀπίωνος ἐπικαλο[]υμένου [Παυ]σειρ[]ί[]ωνος ἀπ' [Ὁξυρινύχων πόλεως. συνελθόντος μου κύριε ἐτι
 20 [. . . τῆ και Cαραποῦτι και πα[]ρ[]ὰ τὸν χ[]ρόνον τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν συνβιώσεως ὠνησ[]αμένου ἐν δνόματι
 [] c. 11] [] c. 9] ν .[] ἐν τ[]ε χρυσίοις και σκεύεσι και ἱματίοις και ἐνδομενεῖα και
 τῶν ταύτης τινά
 [πεποιήμαι οικονομῶν βιβλία ἐπ[]ί τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ τοῦ κυρίου καταφεύγῳ δικαιοδοσίαν κτλ.
 [] c. 25] .[] .[]
 Back
 ↓
 (m. 2)] μμ . l
 (m. 3)] c . . . c Ἀπόλλωνος ἐσφράγι[]ς α
 25 (m. 4)] ος δ και C . . . c ἐσφράγισα
 (m. 5)] ἐσφράγισα
 (m. 6)] ἐσφράγισα
 (m. 7) Ἀ[]ποκρατίων . . [] .[] λω() ἐσφ[]ράγισα
 30 (m. 8)] Ἡρόδος Cαρα[]πίωνος ἐσφράγ[]ισα

1	πακτουμήω	3	Ι. κυμβιώσεω	4	ιματιος	6	παιδοποιίας; S	8	ἕπ; φλανίω
9	Ι. βιβλιδίου, so l. 15	10	στρS	11	Ι. κυλλαμβανούσης; ἰθια; ἰν	12	Ι. βιβλιδίου; L; επιστρSεντυχ		
13	Ι. ἔνεκακαϊδεκάτου	15	ἕπογ[εγρα]μμενο[ς]; ἕπ[ο	17	L	18	πακτουμήω	29	]. λι ⁴⁹
30	σαρ)εσφραγ								

'To Titus Pactumeius Magnus, *vir clarissimus*, prefect.

'From Apion surnamed Pausirion from the city of the Oxyrhynchus. Having formed a union, my lord, some time ago with a certain woman by the name of Ta... also called Sarapous and having purchased during the period when I was living with her in her name some ... many ... consisting of gold objects and effects and clothes and household furniture, and deeds relating to the transactions I made concerning her, I take refuge in the administering of justice which comes from you, my lord. For you, my lord, know better than anyone that whatever a woman acquires while she is living in her husband's house ... of the man, even if he/she has ceased to have sexual relations (??). In the past 18th year of Aurelii Antoninus and Commodus our lords Imperatores ... in her name I bought some things and after only a short time ... she bore off everything which I possessed (?) ... and is trying to obtain it for herself ... in her own name. This being so, my lord prefect, since I was being much abused by her, I petitioned Flavius Valens, *vir egregius*, the epistrategus in a petition recounting these very points, and he accepted the hearing of the case. ... much ... the litigation, I request you, if it so please your *genius*, to order written instructions to be given to the strategus of the nome in order that he may compel her to attend the hearing, and that with the help of your ... I may be able to recover my own property, so that I may have been benefited. Farewell. I, Apion surnamed Pausirion the aforesaid, have presented the petition having drawn it up for myself.' Year 19 Phamenoth 15. Petition the epistrategus, *vir egregius*. I have written in response ...'

'The nineteenth year of Imperatores Caesares Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus Augusti Armeniaci Medici Parthici Germanici Maximi, Phamenoth [...]. Apion surnamed Pausirion bore witness to the underwritten copy, transcribed and collated, of a petition delegated (?) by Pactumeius Magnus, *vir clarissimus*, prefect, publicly displayed ... in the ground-level double portico of the gymnasium [with this *subscriptio*]: Year 19 Phamenoth 15. Petition the epistrategus, *vir egregius*. I have written in response.'

[There follows a second copy of the petition, almost entirely lost, with the names of the witnesses on the back.]

1 Τίτω Πακτουμήω Μάγνω τῷ λαμπρότατῳ ἡγεμόνι: on his prefecture see P. Heid. VII 398.5–6 n. Add the bronze diploma published by C. Römer, *ZPE* 82 (1990) 137 ff. The Heidelberg papyrus is the only other example of the use of *λαμπρότατος* for him, but he was in office in the period when both *κράτιστος* and *λαμπρότατος* could be used of prefects. The form of address is unusual. The normal practice at the head of petitions, up until the middle of the third century, was to address the prefect as *ἐπάρχω Αἰγύπτου*. The only exceptions which I have noted are P. Tebt. II 302.1 = W. *Chr.* 368 (71–2) and XXII 2342 1 (102), where the

prefect is addressed as τῷ κυρίῳ ἡγεμόνι, and III 486 18 (130), which uses τῷ κρατίστῳ ἡγεμόνι. See on these points Guido Bastianini, *ANRW* II 10, 1, 581 97, esp. 587–91, and *Acta XVII Congressus*, 1335–40.

2 Ἰππίωνος ἐπικαλουμένου Πανσεϊρίωνος: in XXVII 2473 4 he recurs as the father of a cosmete of Oxyrhynchus in 229. It is interesting, in view of the dispute in our papyrus, that in 2473 the cosmete's mother is a certain *Οδάριανη*.

ἔτι π(ἀ)λαι: the expression is very common and the correction seems inevitable.

3 The broken letter after τῶνα could be sigma, suggesting τῶνας with the noun with which it agrees lost in the lacuna. But what this might be and how it could construe is not clear. The letter could equally well be omicron, less probably epsilon. Before πολλά it is possible to read τε καί, but the three or four letters before this remain intractable. It would be just possible to read ἐ[τ]; τε καί = ἐτι δὲ καί, but one is naturally very reluctant to suggest a reading which needs correcting in such a damaged context. For a possible restoration at the end of this line see the note to line 21.

4 A similar list of items is willed to a wife in III 494 9–10: ἐπιπλα καὶ κσεῖη καὶ χρυσία καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ κόσμα καὶ πυρὸν καὶ ἔσπρεα καὶ γενήματα καὶ ἐνομομεύαν πάσαν; cf. also the language used in PSI V 463, where the husband is alleged to have robbed his wife of goods from two different houses.

βιβλία no doubt refers to legal deeds. The word occurs in a similar context in BGU VIII 1774.6–8, where petitioners complain *περὶ ἐκφορήσεως κσεῶν τε καὶ βιβλίων πατρικῶν* (by their mother); and in P. Lond. V 1651.8–10, where a petitioner's wife is described as πάντα τὰ ἐνδόν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας ἐν ἧ καὶ ἀνογκαστὰ βιβλία ὑφειλαμένη (cf. his further complaint, lines 13–14, that she has not given back τὰ ἡμέτερα ... μάλιστα τὰς πράξεις [τῶν] ἐμῶν οἰκοπέδων). For the use of *οικονομία* cf., e.g., P. Mich. V 276, with several references to *αὐτὴ πεποιμέθα αὐτῆς οἰκονομίας*.

5 ff. As indicated in the introduction, the words from πολλὰ γὰρ μᾶλλον τοῦ ἀπενέγκασθαι are very unclear. It seems reasonable to start with the assumption that the petitioner is married to the woman about whom he is complaining; the language in line 2 can hardly be said to prove this, especially as the word γάμος does not appear, but the phrase δεῖα ἐὰν γυνὴ ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀνδρός οἴκῳ οὕσα surely implies marriage (note especially the use of the article with ἀνδρός). It also seems clear that the items in dispute did not involve either the φερνή or the παράφερνα; whether they involved all the items referred to in lines 3–4 is uncertain. We can easily interpret the first sentence of the petition as being inserted to indicate to the prefect that the petitioner has been a model husband (*capitatio benevolentiae*). But the two sentences following present major problems and there would appear to be at least two totally different ways of interpreting them:

(A) The petitioner is saying that, as the prefect knows full well, the items which he has bought in his wife's name do not of course belong to the wife but to the husband. His wife, however, has taken them away, as well as items he bought last year, and is claiming the right to own all of them. The alternative explanation involves supplying negatives in the lacunas in lines 5 and 6; and certainly οὐκ could comfortably fit into the gap after ἀδρ[οκατόρων] in line 6. We could then interpret the two sentences as meaning something like this. (B) The petitioner is prepared to admit that he does not of course have any claim on the items which he bought in his wife's name ('what the woman acquires belongs to her and not to her husband'), but is contrasting this with items bought in the preceding year not in her name (οὐκ ἐν ὀνόματι αὐτῆς). His wife, he says, has gone off taking everything and is laying claim to own it all.

(A) seems to me to suit best the general run of the Greek and to provide at least a plausible way of understanding γὰρ in lines 5 and 6: the first γὰρ introduces what is in effect a parenthesis 'Now, as you know full well, ...', while the second picks up the words ἐπὶ τῆν ... δικαιοδοσίαν and gives the reason for them. The major problem is that there is no evidence, for this being a correct statement of the legal position regarding the ownership of property in Roman Egypt according to Graeco-Egyptian law; on the contrary, if items were bought in the name of the wife, then they belonged to her not to the husband who paid for them (both Dr Anagnostou-Cañas and Prof. Rupprecht stress this point). It is interesting that in two we find the husband willing ownership to his wife of property bought 'in her name': XXVII 2474 18–20, δεῖα ἐόντῳ καὶ κυνεταξάμην ἐπ' ὀνόματος τῆς αὐτῆς κυμβί[ο] μου ... δοῦλικά σώματα ... ἔχειν α[ὐτῆ]ν θέλω κυριεντικῶς, and PSI XI Congr. 5.7–8, βούλομαι δὲ τῆν [Πτολέμαν ...] δεῖ ἄνηράμην ἐπ' ὀνόματος αὐτῆς περὶ Ὀξύρυγχα παραδίον ἀροῦρας) τρίς; but it would be rash to deduce from these texts that a wife did not have automatic ownership of property bought 'in her name', especially as the former text is drawn up in accordance with Roman law and the second is very fragmentary.

The difficulties with explanation (B) are the reverse of those for explanation (A). (B) suits reasonably well what we know of a wife's property rights in Roman Egypt under Graeco-Egyptian law, cf. Günther

Häge, *Ehegüterrechtliche Verhältnisse in den griechischen Papyri*, 155–160 (cf. also Edgar Kutzner, *Untersuchungen zur Stellung der Frau im römischen Oxyrhynchus*, and, for the Ptolemaic period, P. W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property*, 143–154, esp. 144). But it is hard to read the surviving Greek in this way: it does not fit well with the words $\gamma\upsilon\eta$ ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀνδρός οἴκῳ οὐκα, it is not at all clear why the petitioner should have included the sentence in which these words appear, and why should he have introduced it with γάρ? This last point lends to the principal weakness in explanation (B): if it is right, there is a sharp contrast between the sentence beginning τῷ γάρ διελθόντι τῇ (ἔκει) and what precedes, and this contrast ought to be marked in the Greek. Instead of this, the writer uses the particle γάρ. Is it possible that stress should be laid on the words $\gamma\upsilon\eta$ ἐν τῷ τοῦ ἀνδρός οἴκῳ οὐκα, and that there is a contrast between the wife's legal position while she remains in the matrimonial home and the position if she leaves and deserts her husband? But again, we should expect any such contrast to have been clearly marked in the Greek.

These problems are of course compounded by the loss at the end of line 5 and the damage to line 7 (where the restoration at the end of this line of ἐν δνόματι looks unavoidable in the context). Nor are we helped by the occurrence in line 6 of the words *κάν μεταλλάξῃ τῆς παιδοποιίας*, to which I know of no parallel. What is beyond question is that *παιδοποιία* and the corresponding verb can be used either of begetting children by the man or of bearing children by the woman (cf. LSJ). We do not know whether the subject of *μεταλλάξῃ* is the husband or the wife. Thus we could take explanation (A) above and translate 'are the property of the husband not the wife even if he has ceased to have sexual relations with his wife'; or we could take explanation (B) and translate 'are admittedly the property of the wife not the husband, even if she has ceased to have sexual relations with him'. It is not clear, however, whether this is a legitimate way to translate *παιδοποιία* or whether it must refer more explicitly to producing children (a point made to me by Dr Anagnostou-Cañas). If so it is hard to see how it could fit explanation (A); but it could perhaps suit explanation (B) if the expression could mean 'even if she has failed to produce children'; if that is felt to be an impossible translation for the verb, the expression might perhaps mean 'even if she has passed the years of child-bearing'.

In short, neither of the explanations suggested above comes close to explaining away all the difficulties and we can only hope that further evidence will emerge which may throw new light on the situation depicted in our papyrus.

6 *Ἀθρηλίων Ἰγνοῦφρων καὶ Κομβόδων τῶν κυρίων Ἀντοκρατόρων*: it is much more usual for *κυρίων* to be followed by *σεβαστών* rather than *ἀντοκρατόρων*: see P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures impériales*, 85. Thus in the series of receipts in R. O. Fink, *RMR 76* (= P. Hamb. 39), instances of *σεβαστών* outnumber those of *ἀντοκρατόρων* by at least five to one. To the examples of *ἀντοκρατόρων* given in Bureth add now, apart from *RMR 76*, P. Customs 271, SB XVI 12749 and P. Stras. VI 530 = C. Pap. Gr. II 57 (P. L. Bat. XXV 37.14 is doubtful).

If we do not restore *οὐκ* after the above (see the note to lines 5 ff.), we could have e.g. *καί* ('also') or *πάνιν* or possibly *ἄλλα* (although this is a long way from *τινα*).

7 α. [. . .] μ. [. . .] πάντα: the second letter could well be π and, since the middle of *ἀπαλλάσσει* is regularly used of a woman leaving her husband (cf. *Winterbuch*, s.v. 11) and since the idea that the couple were now separated would fit well with the reference to the period of their *συμβίωσις* in line 3, a participle of *ἀπαλλάσσει* would appear to suit the context. However, none of the possible participles fits the traces surviving before the mu, and there is not room for ἀπ' ἐμοῦ followed by a participle of *ἀπαλλάσσει*; nor would it be at all easy to read *μερ[η]* before *πάντα*. The reading there is much more like *μη[]*, and it may be just possible to read/restore the whole passage thus: ἀπ[ερ] ἐκ[τη][ε]λύμην πάντα (or ἀπ[αντα]). There is a tiny detached fragment which could well fit in the first lacuna of this passage; if so it would support the reading ἀπε[]ε[].

ἕξεφόρ[η]σε: the same word is used of the husband making off with property of the wife in PSI 463.10; cf. also the passage from BGU 1774 cited in the note to line 4. In P. Heid. 237.8–9 the wife is said to have gone away *βασιτάξασα τὰ τε αὐτῆς καὶ πελίστα τ[ῶν ἡ]μετέρων*. The next letter after *ἕξεφόρ[η]σε* could be a kappa and *καὶ* would be possible; *καί* could also be read, however, immediately before the break at the end of the line, where it could very well be preceded by ξη. How precisely ἐν δνόματι αὐτῆς, if correctly restored, fitted into the sentence remains unclear.

8 ἀπενέγκασθα: the same verb is used of a wife seeking to appropriate property of the husband in II 282.12.

πλε[ο]υκτοίμενος: similarly in SB XVI 12505.11 a husband complaining that his wife has sold property without his consent calls it *πλουεζία*.

8–9 Φλαῖνι Οὐ[]ἀλεντι τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ: this epistrategus (=no. 51 in J. D. Thomas, *Roman*

epistrategos, 189) occurs also in SB XVI 12749, first published by S. Daris in *Aspilogis* 63 (1983) 122–8 (datable only to the joint reign of Marcus and Commodus), and P. Col. X 266 (an updated petition to his successor). In addition he is mentioned in a bilingual ostracón published by S. Donadoni, *Cultura dell'antico Egitto* (1986), 482: this begins in demotic and mentions the year 17, before adding in Greek Οὐδάλης ἐπιστρατήγος. This proves that Valens was already in office in year 17 = AD 176/7; no doubt he directly succeeded the Aemilius who is attested for 8 March 176 (P. Fam. Tebt. 41). If *κρατίστῳ* is correctly supplied in our text, he was almost certainly still in office when the petition was submitted (before 11 March 179), see *Thomas* 46; but it would be possible to supply *γενομένου* instead (cf. *Thomas*, 39), in which case the text proves no more than that Valens was still epistrategus some time in 177/8 (line 6). He had been succeeded by Claudius Xenophon by 27 July 179 (SB XVI 12678).

9 ἀνεδέξαστο τὴν διάγνωσις: so XLIII 3094 13–14 (see the note ad loc.), and in P. Col. X 266.14, where it is also used of Valens.

10–11 We need to supply a feminine noun at the end of line 10. Possibilities include *εὐνοία* (cf. P. Fam. Tebt. 15.72), *εὐμενία* (cf. SB XIV 11980.17), and *ἔξουσία* (cf. P. Turner 44.15).

11 ὁ π[ρο]κεείμενος: alternatively the papyrus may have had ὁ π[ρο]γεγραμμένος, with abbreviation.

12 ἑμᾶντῳ συνταξάμενος τῷ βιβλιδίον: I can find no parallel for this expression, which however suits well enough one of the regular meanings of the middle of *συντάσσω* (see LSJ II.3). In P. Abin. 63.23 the passive is used of an agreement which had been drawn up: *ἀνάγνωσις τῆς συνταχθεῖσης ὑπὸ Νόννης ὁμολογίας*. ἔντυχ(ε): there is no trace of the final epsilon and the papyrus appears undamaged; but as the chi is not raised we should perhaps read *ἐντυχ<ε>*.

ἀντέγραψα: this is a remarkable addition to a prefect's *subscriptio* to which I know of only two possible parallels. (1) The *subscriptio* quoted in P. Wisc. I 33.24–5 appears to end *γέγραμμαι* and G. Foti Talamanca, *Ricerche sul Processo II* (1), 204 n. 446, has acutely observed that this might be supposed to correspond to *scripsi*, which is sometimes found at the end of imperial *subscriptio*s; but, as she stresses (cf. also Nörr, ZRG 98, 4 n. 10), the context is broken and the relationship of *γέγραμμαι*—assuming the reading is correct—to what precedes is unclear (and the middle is unexpected). (2) In SB XVI 12678.35–7 (first published in ZPE 42 (1981) 81–8), a *subscriptio* by Pactusmeius Magnus is quoted, which is said to read *Λ. ιθ' // Μεσορ[η] γ'. τῷ κρατίστῳ ἐπιστρατήγῳ ἐντυχε. ἀντεγράφῃ*, followed in the next line by Θῶθ̄ κδ̄, with *ἕτους [κ]* in the left margin. This second date is most unexpected and I am very grateful to Traianos Gagos for rechecking the original for me. He confirms my suspicions that the supposed *ἕτους* in the margin is no more than offset and that instead of Θῶθ̄ κδ̄ we should read *καθ(ημι) κδ̄*: 'the micron is clearly there and most of the kappa...; the lambda ... is raised ... a certain indication that this is an abbreviation'. The reading at the end of the line before this is more difficult: Gagos comments that the problem is that 'there is too much ink at the end of the line which must have dripped slightly below the letters. That in conjunction with the abrasion of the papyrus creates difficulties in reading with certainty the last three letters'. He adds that he believes *psi* is easier to read than *phi* and that in his opinion *ἀντέγραψα* is a better reading than *ἀντεγράφῃ*. It is naturally important that 4481 and SB 12678 can now be seen to corroborate one another and that both are *subscriptio*s by the same prefect in the same year.

As Wilcken, *Hermes* 55, 28, pointed out, quoting BGU I 19 (= M. Chr. 85) I 9 and II 11, *ἀντιγράφω* can be used of replies by the prefect, and the same is true of *ἀντιγραφὴ*, e.g. I 67 5–7; but both words are always used, so far as I have been able to establish, of replies by means of letters, never of *subscriptio*s (cf. Nörr, ZRG 98, 4–5). The importance of the present text is that it has previously been thought that the word *rescripti* (and *scripti*) was only used at the end of *subscriptio*s by emperors; see, e.g., Wilcken and Nörr, loc. cit. As there can be no doubt that *ἀντέγραψα* is the Greek equivalent of *rescripti*, it can now be seen that this is not the case.

After *ἀντέγραψα* there would be ample room for the addition of the *kollema* number (as in SB 12678.37, see above) and/or *πρόθε*, but neither appears in line 17.

13–14 For the omission of *Caesaris* from the imperial victory titles Bureth, op. cit. 86–7, cites only P. Amh. II 99.25 (which however depends on a restoration) and PSI XIII 1325.4–5, and I have found no other examples. On the victory titles of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus see P. Kneissl, *Die Siegestitulatur der röm. Kaiser* (1969), 97–112, and K. P. Johne, *Klön* 48 (1967) 177–82.

14 As the day of the month is lost, all we can be sure of is that the copy was made before the end of Phamenoth. In BGU 2061 the petition was displayed on the 1st of Tybi and the copy was made on the 4th

(lines 14 and 17), while SB 10537 was copied on the same day as that on which it was displayed, τῆ ἐνεστώσῃ ἡμέρᾳ (line 4); cf. I 35 12.

14–15 ἐ[μαρτύρατο ... ἐκ[γεγραμμέ]νον καὶ προσαντιβεβλ[ημ]μένον: spacing guarantees that we should supply ἐμαρτύρατο, as in **2131** 2, SB 10537.2, 11980.10, 13059.15, and not ἐμαρτυροῦσάτο, as in BGU 970.3. Some texts have a Latin construction after this, e.g. **2131** 2–3: ἐμαρτύρατο αὐτόν ... ἐξεληφέναι καὶ προσαντιβεβληκέναι; similarly SB 11980.10–11 and 13059.15–17. For the construction in the present text cf. BGU 2061.18 with *Verzeichnungsliste* VI (but αὐτόν is best omitted), and perhaps also I 35 9–10. For the Latin equivalent cf., e.g., W. Chr. 463.5–9 = FIRA I² 76, where a veteran says (of an edict of Domitian) *testatus est se descriptum et recognitum fecisse ex tabula aenea, quae est fixa in Caesareo Magno ... in qua scriptum est et id quod infra scriptum est*. Although ἐκ[γεγραμμέ]νον is a noticeably shorter supplement than that in the preceding line, both supplements are inescapable.

15 τὸ ὑπο[ε]γραμμένον[υ] ἀντίγραφον βιβλίδιον: although ἀντίγραφον does not occur at this point in any of the comparable documents from Egypt (in SB XVI 13059.10 it is used of a copy of the complete affidavit), it exactly fills the lacuna, and as ἀναπεμφθέντος must agree with βιβλίδιον, the supplement seems certain. It is supported by P. Yadin 33, which reads ἑγγεγραμμένον [sic] καὶ ἀντ[ι]β[ε]βλημένον ἀντίγραφον ἀξιωματικὸς προκειμ[έ]νον μεθ' ἐτέρων ἐν ταῖς ἰαθμείαις. Cf. also P. Col. VI 123.1, which refers to ἀντίγραφα ἀποκριμάτων of the emperors being displayed publicly at Alexandria. In P. Harr. I 67.13–14 an imperial rescript gives orders to append ἀντίγραφον βιβλίδιον δοθέντος μοι ... καὶ τῆς ὑπογραφῆς μ[ο]υ.

ἀναπ[ε]μφθέντος: this word is without parallel in comparable texts and is rather unexpected. It could refer here to sending upriver to the epistrategus, if the prefect issued his *subscriptio* at Alexandria, or it may be used in the general sense of delegation of the petition; cf. Thomas, *Roman epistrategos*, 127.

ὑπ[ὸ] Πακτουμίου: the addition of Τίτου is not impossible but would make the line noticeably longer than the preceding one.

16 After προσθέντος the lacuna would accommodate ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, but there are obviously other possibilities.

ἐν τῇ τοῦ γυμνασίου διπλῇ ἐπιπέδῳ στοῶ: the restoration is very probable. A feminine noun is required and we have evidence for imperial *constitutiones* being publicly displayed in porticoes of a gymnasium at Alexandria (c.g. XLII 3018 5 and P. Col. VI 123.1–2; see A. Lukaszewicz, *Les édifices publics*, 180–1). For a διπλῆ στοᾶ cf. XXXI 2581 ii 11: διπλῆς στοᾶς κίονες; and for ἐπίπεδοι στοᾶς cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.68, τοῦτων (sc. στοᾶς) δὲ αἱ μὲν ἐπίπεδοι λιθίνας ἔχουσι. In the papyri ἐπίπεδος is often used of a τόπος (see *Wörterbuch*); more relevant, since it relates to a gymnasium, is the reference to τοῖς ἐπίπεδοις κριεῖς προσοικ[ο]δομησαντος in P. Enteux. 8.11. Note also a Claudian inscription reported in Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* 19.287–91 = J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions*, App. 5, where the emperor gives orders that it is to be inscribed ὅθεν ἐξ ἐπίπεδου καλῶς ἀναγνωσθῆναι δύναται; cf. Oliver's note.

The rest of this line must have contained the word ὑπογραφῆς to introduce line 17, but the parallels all use an expression which is too long for the lacuna in our text (e.g. **2131** 5 has *ὡν τῆ ἀπὸ ὑπογραφῆς ὅπερ οὕτως ἔχει*). There is scarcely room for *ὡν τῆ ὑπογραφῆς* or *καὶ τῆς ὑπογραφῆς* (cf. P. Harr. I 67 cited above), which would seem to be the minimum supplement possible. On the repetition of the *subscriptio* see the introduction.

19 The supplement is taken from line 2, but it is some 10 letters longer than we should expect.

21] . ν . [.] ἐν τῆς χροσίου: since what survives just before the break suits *εντ* well and the spacing is suitable, it is very probable that we should supply at this point the passage from line 4 beginning ἐν τε χροσίου. What precedes looks most like]ωντ[or, less probably,]εντ[(]οντ[is not possible), with one or two letters lost in the gap following. Earlier in the line the tops of letters which survive might be read] . μου . [and the slight traces after πολλά in line 3 are not incompatible with μου. Thus the papyrus may have read πολλά μου ἀπῆ (perhaps preceded by ἐν δὲ καί, see line 3 n.), followed by a participle ending –ωντος. In a similar context II 282 6–7 uses ἐπιχορηγεῖν; this is certainly too long in our text (unless we omit ἀπῆ), but there would be room for χορηγῆ]σαντ[ος; cf. P. Heid. 237.15. If this suggestion is on the right lines, βιβλίαι is to be understood as co-ordinate with πολλά and both are objects of this participle.

26 Κυ . . . c. Συνέσιος cannot be read.

29 . . .] . λια () : Π[τ]σ[α]λλιαίος may be just possible. The lacuna after εσθ is hardly sufficient to accommodate ραγισα and the word was probably abbreviated.

30 There is a superscript bar over gamma, hence the reading suggested. For the abbreviation of ἐσθράγισα cf. BGU 2061, back, and the preceding note.

The papyrus provides one further puzzle. There is a detached fragment, broken on all sides, which reads:

]τουκ[
] . ηγεμον . ε[
] . ητηρσα . [
] . ο[.] ο . . . ε . [
5]μη . [.] πο . [
] . . . [

One expects this to fit part of the lower copy of the petition and there is no difficulty in reading/restoring in line 3 μεταλλά]ξη τῆς παιδ[ο]σοφίας (as in line 6). But it seems impossible to make the remainder of this fragment fit the wording in the preserved part of the petition and it thus appears that the two versions differed somewhat (cf. perhaps the note to line 19). In line 2 of this fragment the first letter is most like iota, followed by ηγεμονες or possibly ηγεμονας. Is it possible that a clause such as ὡςπερ πάντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες [ἐκέλευσαν has dropped out (cf. II 237 V 35)? If we were to insert this after δτι in line 5 of the upper copy, it would approximately suit the spacing and allow us to read κοῦ] τοῦ κ[υ]ρίου in the first line of the fragment, taking it from line 4 of the upper copy (assuming that it is there correctly restored). But even so there is no obvious way to fit what remains in lines 4 and 5 of the fragment to the later lines of the petition.

J. D. THOMAS

4482. REPORTS OF RECEIPTS OF REQUISITIONED WHEAT

30 4B.36/F(4)

19 × 34.5 cm

February 182

The setting of these documents is the Busirite nome in the Delta, not Oxyrhynchus. Two items from a τόμος συγκολλησίμος; sitologi in the first, and a *κυτοπαρλήμπτης* in the second, report to the strategus of the nome concerning receipts of requisitioned wheat, *πρὸς συναγοραστικὸς*. At the extreme left edge there are scanty traces of another item (= col. i) which was once attached preceding these two, which we do not transcribe.

The strategus Pupillius Maximus is new and a welcome addition to the rare attestations for this nome; see G. Bastianini—J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 58–9. Neither of the other known holders is near enough to have any possible effect on his term of office.

Several minor place names are mentioned, none of them, unsurprisingly, recorded

elsewhere: *Ψυψόμμον* (ii 5–6), *Ψέβτα* or *Ψέκτα* (iii 36, 41, 65), *Αθαρ.* [(iii 50), *Ταυερείον* (iii 52) and *χωρίον Νεκτερ* [(iii 54).

For *πυρὸς συναγοραστικός* see LX 4063 intro. The collection here is made in 22 Commodus (Mecheir), from the produce of 21 Commodus, i.e. from the most recent harvest, in accordance with the orders of the prefect Veturius Macrinus. The Arabian nome text LX 4064 (cf. 4063 and 4065) likewise attests a levy in 24 Commodus from the produce of 23 Commodus. Probably we ought not any longer to explain these levies as motivated by a poor (or excessive) Nile flood, with the accompanying prospects of higher grain prices, although the rate of refund (drachmas per artaba) eventually paid to the contributors may to some extent have reflected a discounted version of the current market price. It seems likely that opportunity was taken much more regularly to provision the army at a discounted price, regardless of agricultural conditions. On the other hand there is insufficient evidence yet to prove that this system was a routine annual one, and indeed the fact that it is so often specified that the levy was made on the prefect's orders (as in 4482) may be an argument that the levy was not so routine.

It may be worth while to outline the procedure. The prefect's initiation of the levy will have been accompanied or followed by instructions regarding the territorial extent and rate of assessment of the levy, and the agreed rate of refund. The granary officials would send the strategus reports of the grain paid in (4482). The payer sends a request for refund to the strategus and/or the royal scribe (XLI 2958–60, XLVII 3335, LVII 3910). Those officials order the public bankers to make the refund. The recipient sends receipts for the refund to the public bankers and to the strategus (XLI 2961–8, LX 4056). The Arabian nome texts LX 4063–5 document further stages involved in the levy: transport to Alexandria of samples, *δείγματα* (4064) and of the grain itself (4063).

The back is blank. There are no remains of a text attached to the right of col. iii, but the loss of vertical fibres from its back for 1 cm or so at the right edge is probably evidence that a following sheet has separated, cf. the vertical fibres from the back of the almost lost col. i that adhere to the left edge of col. ii.

(Col. ii)

] [. . .] . . . [. . .] . . . [

Πουπιλλίω Μαξίμωι στρατηγῶι

Βουσιρίτου

παρὰ Ἐσιήου Πουσιψή-

5 *μιος καὶ μετόχ(ων) σιτολ(όγων) Ψω-*

υψόμμου. ἐμετρήθησαν

ἐπὶ τῆς προκειμένης

κώμης ἀπὸ γενήματος κα (ἔτους)

Μάρκου Αἰρηλίου

10 *Κομμόδου Ἀντωνίου*
Σεβαστοῦ
συναγοραστικῶ τοῦ
κελευσθέντος εἰσενεχθ[ῆ-]
ναι ὑπὸ Οὐετοურიῶ Μακκράν[ου]
15 *τοῦ λαμ[προ]τάτου ἡγε-*
μόνος δνόματ(ος) . . . λίου
Μαξίμου δι(ἀ) Ἀσκληπιάδο[υ]
Πτολ(εμαίου) πυροῦ ἀρτάβ(αι)
διακόσι[αι] τριάκοντα,
20 *γι(νονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) ελ.*
τούτου διςδὸν ἐγρ(άφη).
(ἔτους) κβ Αὐτοκράτορος
Καίσαρος Μάρκου Αἰρηλίου
Κ[ο]μμ[ό]δου Ἀν[τ]ωνίου
25 *Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμ[εν]ιακῶ*
Μηδικῶ Πα[ρ]θηκ[ο]ῦ ἢ Σαρματικῶ
Γερμανικῶ [Μεγίστου,]
Μεχεῖρ [. . .]
θ . . . [
30 *π . . . [. . .]*

(m. 2) *Ἀσκληπιάδης ἀρχιερ[α-]*

τεύσας . . . [. . .] . . .

εσσημείωμαι. Ἐσιή[ς]

γρ(αμματεὺς) τοῦ σιτο

35 *τῶν σιτολόγων.*

(Col. iii)

(m. 3) *σιτολ(ογίας) Ψέβτα.*

(m. 4?) *Πουπιλλίω Μαξίμωι*
στρατηγῶι Βουσιρείτου

40 παρὰ Πτολεμαίου *σιτο[αρ]αλήμ-*
πτου κόμης Ψέβτα. κατ' ἄνδρα
τοῦ μεμετρημένου Μεχειρ τοῦ κβ (ἔτους) ἀπὸ
γενήμ(ατος) κα (ἔτους) Μάρκου Αὔρηλιου
Κομμόδου Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ
45 *ὑ(πέρ) συναγοραστικοῦ τοῦ κελευθ(έντος)*
συνωνηθῆναι ὑπὸ Οὔετουρίου
Μακρίνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγε-
μόνος <διὰ?> Νεμεσίῳ τοῦ και
Μουνατιανοῦ ὑ(πέρ) τοῦ. [c. 9]
50 *πρακ(τορίας) Αθασ. [*
δνόμ(ατος) Ἄρνω. [] . . . [
[π]ρακ(τορίας) Τανερείῳ κώ [(μησ)?]
δνόμ(ατος) Πτολεμαίου φροντιστοῦ [] (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) β (ἡμισυ)
[πρ]ακ(τορίας) χωρίῳ [υ] Νεκτεν. [. . .] . . . [
55 *Φανόπης Πετθ . . . (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) β [*
. . . [. . .] . . . ου (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) β (ἡμισυ)? [
Θαήσις Η [. . .] υ (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) [
. ε. [. . .] . . . α (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) δ [
Νεχ . . . Ἡρακλ() (πυροῦ ἀρτάβαι) [
60 *[π]ρακ[(τορίας) . . .] [*
ὑπ[ε]ρ[ρ] πρακ(τορίας) Ταγ[ε]ρείου?
δνόμ(ατος) Ἡρα[
ὑ(πέρ) πρακ(τορίας) . . [
[. . .] . . [
65 *πρακ(τορίας) Ψέβτα [*
? . [
. . [
[(ἔτους)?] κβ [

Col. ii 2 *σρδ* 3 *βουα* (tall iota crossed by horizontal) 5 *μετοχιστο*^λ 6 *εμετρη*^θ
8 *γεμ*^π, *δ* 16 *ονομα*^τ 17 *δι/* (δ extended down as curved iota, crossed by diagonal) 18 *πτο*^λ,
αρτα^β: Possibly *ἀρτάβ[α]* 20 *γι*—, very cursorily. Apparently *ς*— (double curve crossed by horizontal;
contrast 53) 21 *εργ* 22 *Λ* 34 *γρδ*

Col. iii 36 *σιτο*^λ 39 *σρδ* 42 *μεμετρη*^λ, *δ* 43 *γενη*^μ, *δ* 45 *υ*, *κελευθ*^θ
49 *μουνατιαν*^{ου} 50 *πρα*^κ; so in 52, 54 etc. 51 *ονο*^λ; so in 53 etc. 53 *πτολεμ*^φ *φρον*^τ, *Ζ-*
(double curve crossed by horizontal; contrast 20. So in 55 etc.), *ς*^τ 56 *ρ*^τ 59 *ηρακ*^λ? 63 *υ*

(Col. ii 2 ff.) 'To Pupilius Maximus, strategus of the Busirite, from Hesiës son of Puspsemis and partners, sitologi of Psinyphommu. There were paid at the aforesaid village, from the produce of the 21st year of Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus, ... the requisitioned (wheat) ordered by Veturius Macrinus *praefectus, vir clarissimus*, to be contributed, in the name of -lius Maximus, through Asclepiades son of Ptolemaeus, two hundred and thirty artabas of wheat, total 230 art. A duplicate was made of this.

'The 22nd year of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus, Mecheir 1.'

(31 ff. m. 2) 'I, Asclepiades, former high priest ..., have signed. Hesiës, secretary of the ... of the sitologi, <wrote this (?)>.'

(Col. iii. m. 3) 'Office of the sitologi of Psebtā ...'

(m. 4?) 'To Pupilius Maximus, strategus of the Busirite, from Ptolemaeus receiver of corn dues of the village of Psebtā. List by persons of the (wheat) paid in in Mecheir of the 22nd year, from the produce of the 21st year of Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus, on account of the requisitioned (wheat) ordered by Veturius Macrinus *praefectus, vir clarissimus*, to be compulsorily purchased, <through?> Nemesius alias Munatianus, ...'

1 Probably a docket similar to that which heads col. iii (line 36), but not one letter can be made out with any certainty.

2 For Pupilius Maximus see the introd. He recurs in iii 38. For the name Pupilius see W. Schulze, *Lat. Eigennamen* 443.

4 Initial letter enlarged.

11 The end of the line is puzzling, although the ink is substantially preserved. It may be possible to read *υ* τοῦ ἡμιαρταβίου (i.e. ὑ(πέρ)), but this seems odd with *συναγοραστικοῦ* immediately following. The picture is further complicated because the same expression may have come in col. iii 49 where *συναγοραστικοῦ* (iii 45) is no longer adjacent.

14 For Veturius Macrinus, *praefectus Aegypti*, see G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 300. His name recurs in iii 46–7. Both instances refer back to his ordering the levy, but he is still in office at the date of the documents. Our most precise date is supplied by col. ii 22–8, Mecheir 11–18, 22 Commodus, = February 5–12, 182. This falls within the term of office already known for him from elsewhere. Col. iii, listing totals for Mecheir, was probably submitted in the following month Phamenoth (Feb.–March).

28 The damaged second figure of the day number could be one of several of the numbers from *a* to *η* (*θ* is excluded), giving a range Mecheir 11–18. Cf. 14 n.

31–5 The subscription involves two individuals. Assuming a full stop after *εσσημελωμαι*, 33, the second half lacks a verb. Should we supply <ἔγραφα> at the end? Cf. P. Mich. XV 701.12–13. Note that the entire subscription is in the same hand.

36 *Ψέβτα* could alternatively be read, also in 41 and 65.

40–41 For the *σιτοπαραλήμπτως* see N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services* (= *Pap. Flor.* XXVIII) 39–40.

49 Cf. 11 n.

56 Obviously a contributor's name with patronymic began this line, but the traces are too damaged even to be sure where the division came. The contributor's name probably began Φ- or Ψ-.

63 An unexplained trace in the left margin.

65 For the village name cf. 36, 41; nevertheless, the ductus of ε here is not clear.

68 κβ is not unexpected, cf. 22, but the supralineation is surprising.

R. A. COLES

4483. LETTER OF ELIS TO CARPUS

70/44(a)

9.4 × 16.2 cm

194

The astrological content of this letter offers a rare, if not unique, instance of a nontechnical document in which data of a kind found in many astronomical texts and tables on papyrus are applied to a practical situation in real life. The text was written along the fibres, in inelegant but regular capitals; for the date, see 7–10 n. On the back, faint smudges may indicate the former presence of the address, along the fibres.

Ἡλις Κάρπῳ τῷ τιμιω-
 τάτῳ πλίστα χαίρειν.
 μνήσθητι περὶ τοῦ ἐντο-
 λικοῦ τ[ο]ῶν κκουτλίων τῶν
 5 τριῶν, μεγάλων β⁻ καὶ
 [.]. [up to 13 ll.] -
 σύνβαλε τῷ φίλῳ σου κελή-
 νης οὐκ ἔστι Τοξότῃ, ὠρ(α) δ⁻. γίνε-
 ται ἐκὶ Θῶθ ιβ⁻, ἐκὶ ἐς {ς} τῶν πά-
 10 λιν καὶ τῇ ιγ⁻ καὶ ἰδ⁻ μέχρι ὠρ(α)ς ζ⁻
 ἐν ταύταις σύνβαλε τῷ φί-
 λῳ σου. διεντύχει.

2 1. πλίστα 6 Top layer missing, but traces of ink on second layer. Extended horizontal at end probably line filler 7, 11 1. σύμβαλε 8, 10 β 9 1. ἐκεί 12 Filler stroke at end

'Elis to his most esteemed Carpus very many greetings. Don't forget about the order for the three plates, two big ones and (one small one?).

Meet (or: make a contract with) your friend when the Moon is in Sagittarius, at the 4th hour; it arrives there on 12th Thoth; it is there again also on the 13th and 14th,

until the 7th hour. At these times meet (or: make a contract with) your friend. Farewell.'

4 κκουτλίον. Derived from the Latin *scutula*, a serving-plate. Cf. S. Daris, *Il lessico latino*², p. 104.

6 The missing line will have given indications about the third plate.

7 σύνβαλε. This verb can have various meanings which would suit our text. Maybe the addressee should simply meet his friend. On the other hand, we find, in the context of oracular questions, the word εἰσβαλῖν used as 'making a deal' (P. G. M. XXX d3).

7–10 Elis almost certainly made use of an astronomical calendar called an *ephemeris*, of which there are now many examples from throughout the Roman period, see A. Jones, *Astronomical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus* (in the press), vol. 1, 40–42. They always include columns giving the moon's position (zodiacal sign and degrees) on each day (at sunset), and usually also have a column stating the time when the moon crosses from one sign to the next. The only usable astronomical information for establishing a date is that the moon crossed from Sagittarius to Capricorn, i.e. was at a longitude 270°, at the 7th hour on Thoth 14, and that it was in Sagittarius by the 4th hour on Thoth 12. Fortunately, we also know how the lunar data were computed in all the surviving ephemerides of the first through the fourth centuries, see A. Jones, *Centaurus* 39 (1997) 1–36. Within the first four centuries AD, only the year 194 gives a position that comes close to fitting the position implied by the letter.

12 The use of διεντύχει is surprising; in Oxyrhynchite documents the word is principally although not exclusively petitionary. It is however also a conventional close in horoscopes, cf. e.g. LXI 4249, 4264, 4266.

A. JONES
 P. SCHUBERT

4484. PETITION TO THE PREFECT

A 4.B5A/5

8 × 12.3 cm

April–May 197

The narrow vertical strip that survives from the top of this petition is too meagre to reveal much of the petition's content. Its principal concern may have been that someone was defrauding the government treasury (lines 8, 13) and a secretary of the collectors of grain taxes was somehow involved (4, 15).

The interest of the fragment is mainly prosopographical. It attests, albeit fragmentarily, the prefect of Egypt Q. Aemilius Saturninus (line 1), for whom see G. Bastianini, *ZPE* 17 (1975) 304 and *ibid.* 38 (1980) 85; B. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidum* I 353; P. Bureth, *ANRW* II 10.1, p. 490; G. Bastianini, *ibid.* p. 512. It may not be our earliest date for him, and is imprecise (month only), but it may antedate P. Mich. VI 423–4 which show that he was in office by 22 May 197 and (in conjunction with P. Mich. 422) had been in office for an unspecified time already. See further 1 n.

The epistrategus of the Heptanomia Calpurnius Concessus (3, and probably 11) was already known as in office by 196 and into 198. His presence enables us to identify the '5th year' given in 5 and thereby provide an approximate date for the document, falling within the term already known for him. See J. D. Thomas, *The Roman Epistrategos* 190.

A kollesis bisects π of ἐπάρχωι, 1. The back is blank.

[Κοίντωι Αιμιλίωι Κατουρν]ίνωι ἐπάρχωι Αἰγυύπ[του]
 [παρὰ Ἡ]ρακλᾶτος ἀπὸ Ὁξυρύγ[χων πόλεως
 [Καλ]πουρνίω Κογκέσσωι ενεκα[. . .]
 [γραμματε]ῦς πρακτόρων σιτικῶν[
 5 [υσης (ἔτους) ε' Παχῶν[
 [?ῦ]πέταξα. ἐπεὶ οὖν προστ[
 [] ἐμφωλεύειν τῇ αὐτῇ[
 [] . λα . α . αρ[. . .] λόγου τοῦ ἱερ[ωτάτου ταμείου?
 [] . κελευσαι ἐκ τῆ[ε?
 10 [] ἐπιστρατήγου[
 [] ἔστι δέ· Καλ[πουρνίω Κογκέσσω τῷ
 κρατίστω ἐπιστρατήγῳ
 [παρὰ Ἡ]ρακλᾶτος ἀπὸ Ὁξυρύγ[χων πόλεως
 [] . περιγραφῆ οὐδ[
 [] πονηρίας. ὄθεν[
 15 [] γραμματεὺς πρακτό[ρων σιτικῶν

1 a of Αἰγυύπ[του rewritten 3 l. Κογκέσσω 5 L

1 We cannot be certain that all the prefect's names were given. That Q. Aemilius Saturninus is the prefect indicated by]νωι is fixed by the reference to Calpurnius Concessus in 3 combined with the date (Pachon, year 5) in 5. Clear tail of first iota in]νωι excludes M. Ulpius Primianus who might otherwise have entered into consideration.

Note the use of iota adscript in the prescript. Its use recurs in 3, likewise in the dative of an official's name, but it is discarded elsewhere (3, 7).

5 οὐτως ο]δης, referring to the ὑπογραφῆ of the epistrategus (beginning (ἔτους) ε' Παχῶν[in response to the petition to him a copy of which is appended at 11 ff.?

7 The rare word ἐμφωλεύειν (active or intransitive here?) is attested in two other papyri, curiously of nearly the same date, PSI XIII 1357 and P. Stras. VIII 725.

13 Or περιγραφῆ?

R. A. COLES

4485-4486. ORDERS TO ARREST

All documents in this category known up to 1986 were listed by Adam Bülow-Jacobsen in *ZPE* 66 (1986) 95-8. Since then another 16 texts have been published and are listed on pp. 94-5 of the article by Traianos Gagos and P. J. Sijpesteijn in *BASP* 33 (1996) 77-96. In this article the authors discuss whether the term 'orders to arrest' is appropriate for this type of document (pp. 77-9), and analyse the format in which such

documents appear (pp. 80-5). The papyri published here use a formula which was standard in the Oxyrhynchite nome up until c. 250; see Ursula Hagedorn, *BASP* 16 (1979) 61-74, especially 66-9. We can therefore be certain that both papyri belong before the mid third century, at which date the formulas used in such orders changed radically; see the introduction to LXI **4114-4116**. For general bibliography on orders to arrest see this introduction and the two articles from *BASP* cited above.

4485

24 3B.75/E(a)

10.1 × 7.1 cm

Second century

This small papyrus contains a complete order to arrest, addressed to the archepodus of the village of Ision Tryphonos. Its size is unusual, being more nearly square than the majority of such orders; see the introduction to **4486**. The other feature of note is the addition in line 4 of the subject in connection with which the accusation has been made. The hand is typical of the second century; cf. in particular the y-shaped eta in line 4.

↓ ἀρχεφῶδωι Ἰσίῳ Τρύφωνος.
 πέμψον Ἑρμογένην Παύλου
 καὶ Ὠρίωνα Πανσιριῶνος ἐντυχόν-
 τος Πλουτάρχου περὶ δημοσίας γῆς.
 5 XXXXXXXX

1 The end of ἀρχεφῶδωι has been corrected

'To the archepodus of Ision Tryphonos. Send Hermogenes son of Paulus and Horion son of Pausirion, on the petition of Plutarchus concerning public land.'

1 ἀρχεφῶδωι: almost all orders to arrest from the Oxyrhynchite nome earlier than the mid third century are addressed to this official, for whom see F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, 275-7, N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services*², 15, P. Mich. X, p. 51, and LXI **4114** 1 n. Most references to the archepodus from the Oxyrhynchite are undated. Two petitions in which the archepodus is mentioned do bear a date, XLIX **3467** of AD 98, and I **69** of AD 190, but both lack the beginning with the title of the addressee. In both cases, therefore, while there must be a presumption that they relate to the Oxyrhynchite nome, in neither case is this certain. Nevertheless there can be no real doubt that the archepodus existed in Oxyrhynchite villages from at least the beginning of the second century.

Ἰσι(ῶ)νον Τρύφωνος is a well-known village in the Lower toparchy; see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 72-3.

4 As remarked in the introduction, it is unusual to add the subject about which the accusation has been made. The closest parallel is VI **969**, an accusation περὶ καταστροφᾶς; cf. also XII **1505**, **1506**, P. Amh. II 146, P. Stras. V 309, P. Turner 46, SB XVI 12707.

5 On the crosses often added at the end of orders to arrest see **4115** 4 n.

J. SPOONER

4486

A 4.B5/5(a)

26 × 5 cm

Late second/mid-third century

The most striking feature of this papyrus is its format: the same strip of papyrus preserves *two* orders to arrest addressed to the archepodi of different villages in the Lower toparchy. There are only two other published examples of two orders on the same papyrus: P. Harr. II 196, which the editor considered to be draft orders since one is incomplete and the other shows many corrections; and P. Clair. Preis. 6, republished by K. A. Worp in *ZPE* 84 (1990) 208–10. In both these examples the two orders are written one underneath the other. In 4486, on the other hand, they are written *alongside* one another in two columns. I am inclined to think that 4486 presents us with two *de facto* orders. It seems likely that two (or more) such chits were often written together on odd scraps of papyrus lying around in the strategus' office. We may compare XXXI 2574, an order to arrest in which the tails of three final letters from a preceding column are visible and which may well have been a similar order. Thus our text could be a complete example of this administrative practice, where for some reason the two orders were not separated (cf. E. G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso*, 47, and Gagos and Sijpesteijn, *BASP* 33, 82–5). Perhaps they were copies, which never left the strategus' office, since IX 1212 suggests that once despatched the orders to arrest remained in the files of the local archepodus rather than being sent back with the prisoner. On the other hand, it may not have been intended to separate the orders at all: the villages mentioned, Tynchinphagon and Tacona, were probably very close to one another, cf. X 1285 129–30 and XIV 1659 109–10, 114–15, and it can hardly be accident that the accuser in both orders is the same. It is worth noting that Paneuei and Syron, the two places where the accused in P. Harr. 196 were to be arrested, were also probably very near each other (cf. X 1285 74–5 and XXIV 2422 8–9).

On the sizes of this class of documents see H. C. Youtie, *TAPA* 91 (1960) 254 = *Scriptunculae*, I 336, and P. Mich. X, p. 50. If we treat the present papyrus as containing two separate orders of equal width, their size would have fallen within the usual limits.

On the other side, written along the fibres, is a strip with the remains of 21 lines, perhaps of a register; κ]ωμογραμματα[occurs. This side was written first and then cut down for reuse for the orders; its hand suggests the early to mid second century. The hand of the orders is clumsy and irregular, and is not likely to be earlier than the end of the second century. As the archepodus is the addressee it cannot be later than the mid third century, see above. The writer's command of Greek leaves much to be desired.

	i		ii
→	ἀρχεφόδωι Τακόνα. [[π]εμ.]	5	ἀρχεφόδωι Τυγχινφάγων.
	πέμψον Κέφαλον		πέμψον Κελάου καὶ Ἑρμοῦ
	δηλάτην ἐντυχόντος		Ἑρμητός ἐντυχόντος Καρα-
	Καραπίωνι ἐνάρχω ἐξηγητῆ.		πίωνι ἐνάρχω ἐξηγητῆ.

2 πέμψον: π corrected from ψ
lines 7–8 6 l. Κελαον καὶ Ἑρμῆν 4 ω of ἐναρχω a correction; l. Καραπίωνος ἐνάρχω ἐξηγητῆος; so

'To the archepodus of Tacona. Send Cephalus the donkey-driver, on the petition of Sarapion the exegetes in office.

'To the archepodus of Tynchinphagon. Send Celaus and Hermes, the son(s?) of Hermes, on the petition of Sarapion the exegetes in office.'

1 For the office of archepodus see 4485 1 n. On the village of Tacona, in the Lower toparchy, see LX, p. 194, and 4087 2 n. P. IFAO I 4 = SB XVI 12313 is another order to arrest addressed to the archepodus of this village (curiously in the form Τακόνως; elsewhere Τακόνα is always treated as indeclinable, except in some Ptolemaic texts, e.g. BGU VI 1274.4, P. Hib. I 73.14, 111.1.1, where we find the expression ἐν (κώμη) Τακόνα, i.e. the name is regarded as feminine singular; see Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario* s.v.).

4 When the accuser is given a description he is very often the bearer of a public office, e.g. comarchs (BGU XI 2080), tax collectors (XXXI 2575, Stud. Pal. XXII 1, P. Oslo II 20, SB XII 11106), a βουλευτής (P. Fay. 37), dekaprotoi (SB XVIII 13896). Some two or three exegetai at Oxyrhynchus with the name Sarapion are attested at the relevant period. The former exegetai in XLVI 3289 6 of AD 258/9 and in I 88 9 of AD 179 are certainly possibilities. On the other hand the exegetes in X 1269 is probably too early, since the text is assigned to the early second century, and the same may be true of the former exegetes in PSI Congr. XI 9, which belongs in or near AD 161/2. The last example is especially interesting, however, as the text refers to a loan made to inhabitants of Tynchinphagon.

5 Τυγχινφάγων: the usual spelling is Τυχνόφάγων, but XIX 2233 7 has Τυγχινφάγων, the equivalent of the spelling in our text. On the village see Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 211. For other villages beginning Τυχν- in the Oxyrhynchite nome see Pruneti, 210.

6 Κελάου: no such name is to be found in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*. Among similar names note Κελάς (O. Mich. I 335 and O. Claud. I 141), Κέλλας (SB I 1790), Κελαλάς (O. Mich. II 736), and Κέλλος (O. Mich. I 606).

6–7 It is very odd that the writer should have used what are usually assumed to be two alternative forms for the genitive of the same name, Ἑρμῆς. It is unclear whether the two men were brothers and the patronymic is to be taken with both names; the absence of a patronymic for the first accused supports this view, but in that case one might have expected the writer to have added ἀμφοτέρων before Ἑρμητός.

D. MONTERRAT

4487. DECLARATIONS OF SURETY

A 80/5 D

8 × 5.3 cm

Third century

Parts of two entries from a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος of guarantees for the presence of third parties. No indication survives here of why their presence is required. Cf. e.g. XLV 3252 and P. Köln III 142, and P. Heid. IV 306–9 where a list of fourth-century examples is provided.

The principal interest of this fragmentary item lies in the addressee, whose name may be reconstructed from the two entries as Aurelius Dionysius alias Heraclides. He held a post in the Prosopite nome, almost certainly that of strategus. This may be the same person as the Aurelius Dionysius (there would be room for the alias, lost to the

right), strategus of the Prosopite, already known from the undated X 1301. If the two texts do attest the same person, the combined Oxyrhynchite evidence may point to his being of Oxyrhynchite origin. For the few other Prosopite strategi known see G. Bastianini–J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* (= *Pap. Flor. XV*) 108; add LX 4056.

The same hand was probably responsible for both entries. Since they come from different declarants, the writer may have been a scribe in the strategus' bureau; the declarants made a personal appearance at the bureau and the scribe wrote their declarations at their request.

The backs are blank.

Col. i

[*Ἀύρηλιώ Διονυσίω τῷ καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ*
[*στρατηγῶ(?) Προσωπίτῳ*]
[*παρὰ Ἀύρηλιού* c. 10] *βέως κώ-*
[*μης?* c. 17] *τοῦδε τοῦ νο-*
5 [*μοῦ. ἠμολογῶ ἔκουσίως καὶ αὐθιγέρτως*
[*ἐγγυᾶσθαι* c. 14] *ἐμφανίως*
[*Ἀύρηλ-* c. 17] *...ίας υ*
[c. 30] . . .

Col. ii

Ἀύρηλιώ Διονυσίω τῷ καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ στρατηγῶ(?)
10 *Προσωπίτῳ*
παρὰ Ἀύρηλιού Τιςοίει εχρ[c. 12]
μηγεα τοῦδε τοῦ νομοῦ. ἠμολογῶ ἔκουσίως
καὶ αὐθιγέρτως ἐγγυᾶσθαι [c. 13]
ἐμφανίως Ἀύρηλι[- c. 20]
15 *... [.] .ει . . [*
.

5 l. *αὐθιγέρτως*, so in 13 6 l. *ἐμφανείας*; so in 14

12 *μηγεα*. The reading is clear. It may be a place name or part of a place name.

R. A. COLES

4488. DECLARATION OF UNINUNDATED LAND

A 124/4(A)

5.5 × 20 cm

c. 244/5

This is yet another *ἀπογραφὴ ἀβρόχου* (W. Habermann, *Pharos* 9 (1997) 213–83) from the period around 244/5, cf. XLII 3046–7 and VI 970. The main interest of the present example is in its supplying a new Oxyrhynchite royal scribe, Aurelius Agathus Daemon, who is also the latest certain royal scribe of that nome: cf. G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* (*Pap. Flor. XV*) 144. See further 1–2 n.

There is a blank space to the right of *ἀβ(ρόχου)* in 26 and 2.5 cm blank below. Besides the amount of land in this last parcel listed, we lack the date and the *ἐπιδέδωκα*-clause, and the declaration would seem never to have been finished.

Unlike 970 and 3046–7, docketed on the back with a village name, the back of 4488 is blank (as far as it is preserved).

[*Ἀύρηλιώ Ἀγαθῷ Δ[αίμονι]*
[*βας]λικῶ γραμματεῖ*] *Ἄξυρυγ[χίτου]*
παρὰ Ἀύρηλιώ[ν c. 10]
καὶ Ἐλευσινίου [c. 7 *διὰ?*]
5 *τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀύρη[λίου* c. 6]
νου καὶ ὡς χρη[ματίζει.]
κατὰ τὰ κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀύ[-
ρηλίου Ἄντων[ίνου τοῦ]
κρατίστου πρ[ὸς ταῖς ἐπις-]
10 *κέψεις ἀπογραφ[όμεθα ἦν]*
ἔχομεν ἄβροχ[ον c. 5]
[c. 20]
τη [c. 4 *ἐκ τοῦ]*
Ἐὐθυκλ[έ]ους σὺν [τῷ? c. 6]
15 *καὶ Νείκωνος κλ[ήρω?] [εἰς (?) Ὀννώ-]*
φρων Τεῶτος τ[οῦ] c. 6]
νιός ἀπὸ (μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου) [(ἀρουρῶν) x τὸ κα-]
θ' ἡμᾶς ἡμυσι μὲ [ρος (ἀρούρας) x]
καὶ εἰ[ς] Ἀπολλωνιά[ν τὴν καί(?)]
20 *Ἀσκαταρίων κλ[* c. 7]
(μοναρτάβου) ἀπὸ (ἀρουρῶν) ι τὸ κ[αθ' ἡμᾶς(?)]
(δίδμοιρον) μέρος ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρούρας) [σβ' καὶ ἐκ τοῦ]
αὐτοῦ κλ[ήρου] εἰς Νεφ[c. 8]
(μοναρτάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἀρούρας) ιβ καὶ [c. 7]

25 εἰς κληρο(νόμους) Ἰσιδώ [ρου c. 4]
 γιου (μοναρχάβου) ἀβ(ρόχου) (vac.) [
 2 γρς 9 κ a correction 15 κ^λ 17 α-αβ 18 l. ἡμιου 21 α-, β 22 β],
 αβ^ν 23 κ^λ 24 α. αβ^ν 25 κληρο) 26 α. αβ

'To Aurelius Agathus Daemon, royal scribe of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius [...] and Eleusinius [...] father Aurelius [...] and however he is styled. In accordance with the orders of Aurelius Antoninus, *vir egregius*, (procurator) in charge of surveys, we register (the land?) which we have, uninundated...'

(13 ff.) '... from the (lot of) Euthycles with the lot of x and Nicon, registered in the name of (?) Onnophris son of Teos grandson of -nis, out of x arouras of uninundated one-artaba land, our half share, x arouras; and registered in the name of Apollonia alias(?) Asclatarion ... one-artaba land, from 10 arouras, our two-thirds share, uninundated, 6 2/3 arouras; and from the same lot, registered in the name of Neph- ... one-artaba land, uninundated, 12 arouras, and ... registered in the name of the heirs of Isidorus son of -nius, one-artaba land, uninundated, ...'

1-2 For the royal scribe cf. introd. He is also all but the latest known royal scribe from any nome; only Aurelius Achilles may be later, royal scribe of the Heraclides division of the Arsinoite nome in the same regnal year (244/5) to the vicinity of which 4488 is assigned. See Bastianini-Whitehorne, op. cit. 126. In this assessment I ignore royal scribes for whom only a broad dating to the third century is offered. The suggestion in XLIII 3116 1 n. of a royal scribe acting strategus in 275/6 should probably be abandoned, see J. D. Thomas, *ZPE* 19 (1975) 119 footnote 41.

7-10 Aurelius Antoninus, procurator *πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισκέψαι*, is now well known: to the entry in H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières proc. équestres* III 1084, add XLII 3046 (AD 244/5).

10-11 For ἦν ἔχομεν cf. XLII 3047 4.

12-13 The text as so far restored lacks both a date at which the properties were unwatered and a village location, cf. e.g. 3047 4. If these details were supplied in this damaged section of the text, they would be displaced by comparison with 3047, but it would be hard to incorporate either or both at 10-11.

14 The κληρος of Euthycles is to be added to the list of P. Pruneti, *Aeg.* 55 (1975) 178.

14-15 *ὅταν [τῶν . . .] καὶ Νείκωνος κλη(ρήρου) ἢ ὅταν [τοῖς . . .] καὶ Νείκωνος κλη(ρήροις)?* The latter hardly seems possible. Cf. 15 n.

15 A κληρος of Nicon was already known, see P. Pruneti, *Aeg.* 55 (1975) 192, although not quite in this form. Cf. 14-15 n.

For εἰς cf. 19, 23, 25. For its significance see 3047 5 n.

17 (μοναρχάβου). For the category of one-artaba land see 3047 11 n.; J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* 35-6.

R. A. COLES

4489. APPLICATION TO REGISTER A CHILD

18.2B.71/C(1-2)a

15 × 19 cm

5 August 297

Aurelia Helene, widow of Aurelius Silvanus, applies to the systates of Oxyrhynchus for permission to register her son Aurelius Ammon, a δωδεκάδραχμος of the gymnasial

class, aged 13 years. Documents of this kind from Oxyrhynchus were studied in detail by Paul Mertens, *Les Services de l'État Civil* (1958), 48-65; for a more recent examination see the introduction and notes to P. Ups. Frid 6, where a list of all then known examples is given. Add now LIV 3754 and P. Col. VIII 231.

It is noteworthy that the application is submitted by a woman acting alone in virtue of the *ius liberorum*. Women have only appeared occasionally in similar documents from Oxyrhynchus, and often because they are the owners of the property where the child was registered, as in III 479, X 1267 and XXXVIII 2858. In the last example the father and mother join in the registration with the female owner. Father and mother jointly register a son in P. Col. VIII 231. In PSI XII 1257 the mother registers her son jointly with the owner of the property, who may have been the boy's step-father; in P. Ups. Frid 6 registration is by the father and his divorced wife; and in LIV 3754 the grandmother acts alone in registering her grandson, apparently because his father is away on active service. Cf. Edgar Kutzner, *Untersuchungen zur Stellung der Frau im römischen Oxyrhynchus*, 110.

A repair patch of vertical fibres runs down the centre of the front of the sheet. There is a kollesis almost at line-end. The back is blank.

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Ἀβ[το]κράτορος Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ
 τὸ ε- καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ β'.
 Ἀβρηλίω Ὀρίωνι Θεώνος κυστάτη τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυ-
 ρυγκιτῶν πόλεως τοῦ ἐγεσταῦτος γγ (ἔτους) καὶ ιβ (ἔτους) καὶ ε (ἔτους)
 5 παρὰ Ἀβρηλίας Ἐλένης Ὀρίωνος μη(τρὸς) Θερμουθίου ἀπὸ τῆς
 αὐτῆς πόλεως χω[ρ]ῆς κυρίου χρημ(ατιζούσης) τέκνων δικαίω. βού-
 λομαι πρώτως ἀγα[γ]ραφῆναι ἐπὶ σταθμῶ ἀμφόδου Ποιμεν-
 κῆς τὸν γενοῦσα [μο]ι ἐκ τοῦ γενομένου καὶ μετῆλαχότος
 μου ἀνδρὸς Ἀβρηλ[ί]ωυ Cιλβανὸυ Βηγάμμωνος μητρὸς
 10 Ἰσιτος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ[τ]ῆς πόλεω[ς] υἱὸν Ἀβρηλίον Ἄμμωνα
 (δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀπὸ γυμ(νασίου) ὄντα πρὸς τὸ ἐνε[ς] τὸς γγ (ἔτος) καὶ
 ιβ (ἔτος) καὶ ε (ἔτος) (ἔτῶν) γγ'
 διὸ ἐπιδιδῶμι τὸ [υ]πόμνημα[α] ἀξιόδρα ταγήναι αὐτὸν
 διὰ τῆς καταχωριζομένης ὑπὸ σοῦ γραφῆς ἀφηλικῶν
 ἐν τῇ τῶν ὀμηλικῶν τάξει ὡς καθήκει καὶ ὀμνῶ
 15 τὸν ἔθμον Ῥωμαίοις ὄρκον μὴ ἐψεῦσθαι. (ἔτους) γγ' καὶ (ἔτους) ιβ'
 τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Ἀυτοκρατόρων Διοκλητιανοῦ
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ (ἔτους) ε'' τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
 Κωνταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων
 Καίσαρων, Μεσορή ιβ'.

20 (m. 2) *Ἀύρη(λία) Ἑλένη ἐπιδεδωκα καὶ ὤμοσα τὸν ἄρκον*
ὡς πρόκει[ται. Ἀύρ]ή(λιος) ἔγραψα [ὑπέ]ρ αὐτ[ῆ]ς μη
[εἰδύιας γράμματα.]

3 λαμδ 4 υδκαυβδκαεξ 5 μη⁷ 6 χρημδ 10 κειος 11 ιβδαπογμδ;
 υδκαυβδκαεξΛιγ 15 Λιγ''καυβδ'' 17 Λε'' 20 αυρη- 21 αυρη^λ

'Under the consuls our lords Emperor Maximianus Augustus V and Maximianus the most noble Caesar II.

'To Aurelius Horion son of Theon systates of the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites for the current 13th and 12th and 5th year from Aurelia Helene daughter of Horion, mother Thermouthion, from the same city, acting without a guardian in virtue of the *ius liberorum*.

'I wish to register for the first time in a *stathmos* of the Poimenike quarter the son born to me by my former and deceased husband Aurelius Silvanus son of Besammon, mother Isis, of the same city, Aurelius Ammon, *dodekadrachmos* of the gymnasium, being in the current 13th and 12th and 5th year aged 13 years. Wherefore I present the application asking that he be enrolled, through the register of minors filed by you, in the list of those of his own age, as is his due; and I swear the oath customary to Romans not to have lied.

'Year 13 and 12 of our lords the Emperators Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and year 5 of our lords Constantius and Maximianus the most noble Caesars, Mesore 12.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelia Helene, have made application and have sworn the oath as aforesaid. I, Aurelius ..., have written on her behalf as she does not know letters.'

3 *Ἀύρη(λιος) Ἑλένη ὀνόματι θεοῦ κυράτης*: on the systates see Peter van Minnen, P.L. Bat. XXV, pp. 275–283; add to his list LX 4078–4080. Cf. N. Lewis, *BASP* 29 (1992) 127–9. Aurelius Horion was already known as systates for the years 294/5 (XLIII 3137), 297/8 (P. Fuad I Univ. 13), 300 (XLVI 3301) and 304 (XII 1551 = CPapGr II 82); he probably also occurs in I 43 verso, III 31, see van Minnen, 283 (but it is doubtful if the Horion of LV 3789.7 is the same man, see the note *ad loc.*). In XLVI 3295 of 285 he is among the officials described as *τοῖς διακοῦσι τὰ κατὰ τὴν φυλαρχίαν*. The office of systates replaced that of phylarch at Oxyrhynchus early in Diocletian's reign, see Mertens, 31, and van Minnen, 275.

5 *Ἀύρη(λιος) Ἑλένη ὀνόματι θεοῦ κυράτης*: an Aurelia Helene acting without a *κύριος* by virtue of the *ius liberorum* occurs in XLI 2989 (3rd cent.; undated); but an examination of the original suggests that the father's name there was not Ἑλίωναο.

6 *χω[ρ]ῆς κυρίου χρημ[α]τιζούσης τέκνων δικαίω*: see the bibliography cited in P. Köln III 150.3–4 n. For a list of documents attesting this expression see P. Mich. XV, Appendix II; add now P. Kellis I 19a.

7 *ἐπι σταθμῶ*: the reading, which is due to Revel Coles, is unexpected and the meaning uncertain. *σταθμός* and *σταθμοῦχος* occur only rarely (less than 20 times) in the Roman period; there is no certain example of *σταθμός* later than the earlier third century (BGU XI 2086.30 of AD 235), but *σταθμοῦχος* is attested as late as the early 4th century (P. Congr. XV 22.iv.13). Most examples come from Hermopolis,

with one or two from the Memphite and the Arsinoite; from Oxyrhynchus we have only III 482 18 (109) for *σταθμός* (unless we should interpret the obscure occurrence of *σταθμοῦ* in XXXIII 2668 20, of 311, as referring to this kind of *σταθμός*), and II 387 and XLVI 3271 5 for *σταθμοῦχος* (both 1st cent.). Probably most relevant for us here are instances of *σταθμός* occurring along with *amphoda* in epikrisis and census returns from Hermopolis: P. Amh. II 75, P. Hamb. I 60, P. Lond. III 935 (p.29) and P. Ryl. II 102; cf. *σταθμοῦχος* in SB VII 9869. *LSJ* s.v. I.4 give the meaning 'quarter (of a town)', with reference to P. Ryl. 102, but it is not clear how they arrived at this meaning. The editors merely comment that 'the meaning of the word in this context is obscure' (line 8 n.). It seems more likely that *σταθμός* means some form of habitation which was smaller than an *οικία*, which would accord reasonably well with its usual meaning in the Ptolemaic period. If so, one is reminded of expressions in parallel documents such as that in III 479 5ff.: *βούλομαι ἀναγραφῆναι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑπάρχοντός μοι μέρους οἰκίας ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Δρόμου Θοσήριδος*; but this would seem to require the insertion of *ἐπ'* before *ἀμφόδου* in the present text.

10 *Ἀύρη(λιος) Ἄμμωνα*: it is no more than a coincidence that in P. Fuad I Univ. 13, which belongs in the following Egyptian year, an application is made to register a boy called Aurelius Ammon whose father was M. Aurelius Silvanus.

13 *διὰ τῆς καταχωριζομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ γραφῆς ἀφηλικῶν*: for this phrase see P. Ups. Frid 6.12–14 n. and XLIII 3137 14 n. (where the present text is referred to).

21 The papyrus is broken away at the foot. No doubt a docket would have followed below line 22, as in, e.g., XLIV 3183.

J. L. CALVO MARTÍNEZ

4490. RECEIPT FOR *ἐπικεφάλαιον πόλεως*

32 4B.4/A(7)a

8 × 24 cm

22(?) July 299

The papyrus, written in an ugly sprawling hand, is complete and the back is blank. It belongs to a well-known type, all examples of which known up to 1988 were listed and analysed by John Rea in the introduction to LV 3789. Add now P. Daris inv. 249, edited by S. Daris in *ZPE* 98 (1993) 248, which is a receipt for the same year (298/9) as 4490. The present text is unusual in that it has not been signed by the collector (normally the systates); the only other example of this is XLIII 3142 of 301, which is in general a very close parallel to 4490. It is also unusual in that the amount of 1600 drachmas is not expected at this date: see the note to lines 16–18.

ἔτους ιεS καὶ ιδS τῶν
 κυρίων ἡμῶν
 Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ
 Μαξιμιανοῦ ζ[ε]β[α] [ε]τ[ρ]ῶν
 5 καὶ ζS τῶν κυρίων
 ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου
 καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν
 ἐπιφανεστάτων
 Καϊσάρων, Ἐπιφ κη-. διε-

10 γράφη ὑπὲρ ἐπικεφαλίου
 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους
 ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς κε-
 λευθ(εῖς) ὑπὸ τοῦ δια-
 κημοσάτου ἡγεμόνος
 15 Ἡρακλάμμων Διδύμου
 ὀνηλάτης ἀργ(υρίου) δραχμὰς
 χιλίας ἑξακοσίας
 (γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) ἈΧ [

9 l. Ἐπειφ 10 l. ἐπικεφαλαίου, see note 12-13 κελευθ, see note 16 ἀργ- 18 /S

'Year 15 and 14 of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and 7 of our lords Constantius and Maximianus the most noble Caesars, Epeiph 28th(?). There has been paid on account of poll-tax for the current year in accordance with the orders of the prefect, *vir perfectissimus*, (in the name of) Heraclammon son of Didymus, donkey-driver, one thousand six hundred drachmas, total 1600 dr.'

9 Ἐπειφ κγ-: the second figure is uncertain.

9ff. The construction found here, the passive διεγράφη followed by the name of the payer in the nominative and δραχμὰς in the accusative, occurs in a number of other Oxyrhynchus papyri, e.g. XLIII 3142.

10 ἐπικεφαλίου: the correct spelling seems to be ἐπικεφάλαιον, although ἐπικεφάλ(ε)ιον is often found: see LV 3789 1 n. For the omission of πόλεως see XXXI 2578, XLIII 3142, PSI IV 302, VII 780 and P. Daris inv. 249.

12-13 κελευθ(εῖς): the cross-bar of theta is linked to upsilon following and there is no obvious way in which the abbreviation was marked.

15 Ἡρακλάμμων: see F. Dunand, 'Les noms théophores en -ammon', *CE* 38 (1963) 134-146.

16 ὀνηλάτης: the tax-payer in XLIII 3142 11 is also a donkey-driver.

16-18. The amount of 1600 is very strange, as can be seen by glancing through the list of payments given in LV 3789, introd. The usual payment at this period is 1200 drachmas, and J.-M. Carrié, in *Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress of Papyrology*, 443, has suggested that this was the total sum due in the early receipts (up to 304), rising later to 1600 drachmas (up to 312) and then again to 2400 drachmas. This, however, does not suit either the present text or XLII 3040, which records a receipt for 1300 drachmas for 296/7. Even if we leave out of consideration XXXIV 2717 (because of the doubt over the figure in the year-date in line 2: see LV, p. 45), we need to take account also of a probable payment of 2000 drachmas for two people in P. Oxy. Hels. 28 for 303/4 (on the reading in line 7 see LV, p. 46), and of 2000 drachmas and then 400 drachmas apparently for a single person in PSI VII 780 for the years 304/5 and 303/4 respectively. Particularly interesting is the evidence of LV 3787. The first line reads Λουκίου σωστάτου, after which various names occur together with amounts in drachmas. As the ἐπικεφάλαιον πόλεως was collected by the systates and as the majority of the amounts in 3787 are for 1200 drachmas, the editor is no doubt right to link the papyrus with this tax. It is therefore noteworthy that as well as the amounts of 1200 drachmas we also get amounts of 2000, 2400 and even, in line 34, 2600 drachmas for a single individual, as well as 2000 and 800 for two persons (lines 16 and 18 respectively). Unfortunately the text can be given only a firm *terminus post*

quem of January 297, although there are grounds for wishing to put it not later than 303, perhaps in 301/2 (see the introduction); R. S. Bagnall, *CE* 66 (1991) 293-6, argues for a dating of 313-20. All this suggests that the picture is rather more complicated than might have at first appeared. It seems we must either suppose that there was no fixed rate but that individuals paid at differing rates; or that the usual payment found up to 304 of 1200 drachmas was no more than an instalment and that the total tax due was considerably higher than this; or that amounts over 1200 drachmas in this period always include arrears.

N. LITINAS

4491. SWORN DECLARATION

32 4B.7/M(3-4) a

10 x 26.2 cm

9 May 307

A copy of XLIV 3192, nearly complete. The two versions are written in seemingly different hands, and neither contains a subscription of the declarant.

Aurelius Timotheus makes a declaration, now extant in two copies which were discarded together and found together as the inventory numbers indicate, to the Oxyrhynchite prytanis in an attempt to avoid a liturgical service in connection with the supply of two donkeys to the *magister rei privatae*, which the *δνομάγγωνες* were trying to impose on him.

Since the hands appear to be different and there is no subscription in either version, no more than one of the two versions could have been written by Timotheus himself. In each case the one hand has written everything, except that in 4491 the month and day in the last line seem to have been added by a different writer. The two texts are similar in format, though there is no indication that they have been cut from one sheet. There are more phonological and grammatical oddities in 4491 (lines 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 21, 22) than in 3192, where they are restricted to a few iotacisms, and the latter text may perhaps be seen as the official 'fair copy' of the declarant's original submission.

There is a manufacturer's kollesis near the right edge. The back is blank.

ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν [κ]υρ[ίω]ν ἡμῶν

Σεουήρου Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Μαξί[μίου]

ἐπιφανεστάτου Κα[ίσαρος.]

Ἀύρηλιω Διοσκόρω τ[ῶ] κα[ί] [Ἑλλαδίω γυ[μνασιαρχ-]]

5 βουλ(ευτή) ἐνάρχου πρυτάνει τῆς λαμ[πράς] καὶ λαμ[προτάτης]

Ἵξυρρυγχιτῶν πόλεως

Ἀύρηλιος Θιμόθεος Σαραπιάδου{ε} ἀπὸ τῆς

αὐτῆς πόλεως. ἐπειδὴ οὐ δεόντος

[μ]ετῆλλθάν με οἱ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως

10 ὀνομάγγωναις ὡς περὶ κυστάσεως
 ὄνον δύο ἀποστελλομένων
 πρὸς τὸν διασημότατον μάγειτρον
 τῆς προιάτης[ε] ὡς ἔθην μετερχόμενος—
 15 μόνος μαι τὴν αὐτὴν τέχνην,
 κατὰ ταῦτα ὁμολογῶ ὁμνῶ τὴν τῶν
 κυρίων ἡμῶν Ἀντοκρατόρων
 Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Σεουήρου Σεβαστῶν
 καὶ Μαξιμίνου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου
 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων
 20 τύχην τὴν αὐτῶν τέχνην
 μητεπόπουτε πεποικῆναι μη—
 δὲ ποιεῖν, εἰ δὲ ὕστερον καταλημπῆν
 ἔνοχος ἔσομαι τῷ θεῷ ὄρκῳ καὶ τῷ περὶ
 25 τοῦτου κινδύνῳ.
 (ἔτους) ιεϛ γς ας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν
 Μαξιμιανοῦ καὶ Σεουήρου Σεβαστῶν
 καὶ Μαξιμίνου καὶ Κωνσταντίνου
 τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καισάρων.
 (m. 2?) Παχῶν ιδ—

1 ὀπατων 5 βου^λ 1. ἐνάρχῳ λαμς twice 6 οἰυρνυ'χίτων Final sigma extended as
 filler stroke 7 l. Τιμόθεος 8 l. δεόντως 10 ὀνομαγγωναις 1. ὀνομάγγωνες 14 l.
 —μένον με, αὐτῶν 21 l. μηδεπόπουτε 22 l. καταλημφθεῖην 23 ω of first τῷ corr. 25 L

'In the consulship of our lords Severus Augustus and Maximinus most noble Caesar.

'To Aurelius Dioscorus also called Helladius, (ex-?) gymnasiarch, councillor, prytanis-in-office of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, Aurelius Timotheus, son of Sarapiades, from the same city. Since improperly the donkey-sellers of the same city have laid claim on me in connection with the supply(?) of two donkeys being sent to the *magister rei privatae*, *vir perfectissimus*, on the grounds that I am involved in their trade, I accordingly declare, swearing by the fortune of our lords Imperatores Maximianus and Severus Augusti and Maximinus and Constantinus the most noble Caesars, that I never yet practised their trade nor am I doing so, and if I am convicted in future I will be subject to the divine oath and the risk attached to it.

'Year 15, 3, 1 of our lords Maximianus and Severus Augusti and Maximinus and Constantinus the most noble Caesars, Pachon 14.'

4 The name of the prytanis, Aurelius Dioscorus alias Helladius, is restored from 3192. He has not been attested elsewhere.

7 Both copies have *Σαραπιάδου*: for 1st decl. names in -ης with genitive in -ου as in the 3rd decl. (found very sporadically in the papyri) see Gignac, *Grammar* II p. 15, e.

9 [μ]ετῆλθω: a second aorist formation with first aorist ending, see Mandilaras, *The Verb* 317 and Gignac, *Grammar* II pp. 335–336 (generally) and pp. 340–341 (for the form ἤλθαι).

10 ὀνομάγγωνες appear again in LIV 3728 4 of AD 306, where they are organized in a guild. *κυστάσεως*: applied to donkeys, the precise meaning remains unclear, and with it the precise nature of the liturgic service Timotheus is trying to avoid. The word recurs in LX 4074 5 of the same year, *τῆς κυστάσεως τῆς φορολογίας*. Presumably Timotheus is being asked to provide the donkeys or to replace them or to travel with them while they are in transit.

20–22 *τέχνην ποιεῖν* is an unusual expression. Cf. P. Oslo III 124.8–10 *ἔπει οὐκέτι εἰδονῶ τὴν γεωδικὴν τέχνην(ν) ποιεῖν*. Verbs which occur more often with *τέχνη* are *ἐργάζεσθαι*, *ἀσκεῖν* and *μελετᾶν*, occasionally *ὑπηρετεῖν* or *ἔχειν*, or sometimes the expression *ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ εἶναι* (see LSJ s.v. *τέχνη*, II).

23–4 *καὶ τῷ περὶ τοῦτου κινδύνῳ*: 3192 has *τῷ περὶ τοῦτου ἐπιτηρημένῳ* (corr. from —μένου) αὐτοῦ (l. αὐτῷ? ἔμμαντῷ? or delete?) κινδύνου (l. κινδύνῳ). The forms with and without *ἐπιτηρημένῳ* appear almost simultaneously, the present declaration in its two copies (4491 and 3192) providing the earliest example of each except for the short form in W.Chr. 429 from the year before.

N. LITINAS

4492. PETITION OF A DIKE SUPERVISOR

A B3.6/4(c)

19 × 14 cm

c. 311/2

A former Oxyrhynchite magistrate, now *χωματεπέικτης*, reports to the prefect of Egypt regarding the maintenance of dikes in the Cynopolite nome. The text breaks off before allowing us to understand the problem which prompted the report. There is a tantalising reference (8) to the *mansio* at Tacona (cf. LX 4087–8), puzzling because this is well away from the area that could be called Cynopolite.

The prefect Aurelius Ammonius is infrequently attested, but well enough to provide an approximate date for the text. See J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile* 240.

The administrative position of the Cynopolite nome in the early fourth century is problematical: see especially XLVIII 3423 12 n, LXIII 4384 3–4 n. The nome existed in the present text indicates that around the same date Cynopolis was (or at least had recently been) functioning as a nome capital of which there were (ex-)magistrates. Rather later in the fourth century XLVIII 3398 11–12 indicates that Cynopolis still had a *βουλή*, see *ibid.* 11 n. On the other hand, that same text has a Cynopolite *πολιτεύμενος* presiding over a judicial hearing involving Oxyrhynchites; close to it in date, XX 2267 mentions a procurator in charge of imperial estates in both nomes. XLVIII 3423 is a fourth-century Oxyrhynchite memorandum which includes a note about exacting tax grain and wine from the Cynopolite/Cynopolis; the note to line 12 of that text lists further evidence for Cynopolite association with or subordination to the Oxyrhynchite. The present text shows the maintenance of dikes in the Cynopolite nome being organized by an Oxyrhynchite official in association with a Cynopolite ex-magistrate.

Written *transversa charta* on the recto, in a florid cursive; a kollesis runs across between lines 10–11. The kollesis is of the usual manufacturer's three-layer kind. On the back there are some slight ink traces, some of which may indicate that there may have been a docket.

Fr. b is a small scrap with the first letter or two of each of four lines. The hand is probably the same, but it will not join to the main piece. It may have come from the line beginnings of the text lower down.

Ἀνρηλίω Ἀμμωνίω τῷ διασημοτάτῳ ἐπάρχῳ Αἰγύπτου

Ἀνρήλιος Διογένης ὁ καὶ Εὐλόγιος ἄρξ(ας) τῆς Ὀξ(υρρυχιτῶν) πόλεως
χωματεπείκτης [

τὴν τῶν Κυνοπολιτικῶν χωμάτων ἔπειξιν ἐγχειρικθεὶς ἡγεμ[ῶν κύριε(?)]
ἐν στέρνοις ἔχων τὸν τῆς ἡγεμονία[ς] φόβον οὐ διέλειπον νύκτ[ω]ρ τ[ε] καὶ
μεθ' ἡμέρας(?)

5 ἄμα Λυκαρίων[ι ἄ]ρξαντι τῆς αὐτῆς Κυνοπολιτῶν πόλεως ἕως ἂν [

ἦσθε, τοὺς τε ὑδροφύλακας καταστήσας πάντα τοῖς ἐκ βουλή[ς]

α[ἰ]ρεθείαι(?)

παρέδωκα ἄμα τῷ συνεπίμῳ μοι κελευσθέντι. ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν [

[c. 8] μονῆ Τακόνα τυγχάνει δι' ἧς συνεχέστερον [

[c. 5] διεξιέναι καὶ τοῦ ἐντρέ[π]ισθῆ[ναι] . . .] κα[] . . . [

10 [c. 6] καὶ ἂ γίγνεται καὶ δ[] α[] . . . [

μετὰ πολλῆς ταχύτητος ἂν [] ἴεσθαι καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ δημ[οσι]-?

ἀπολειφθῆναι δὲ τῶν χωμάτων διὰ τὸν σὸν φόβον δίχα. [

[c. 15] οὐκ ἐπέτρεψα ἔμμαντῶ. διὰ τοι τοῦτο ἀνευ [

[c. 35] α[] ἐθεντι [

Fr. b

τ. [

ἐπι [

τ. [

. [

2 ἀρξ', ὁξ'

5 1. Κυνοπολιτῶν

6 ὑδροφύλακας

7 1. συνεπέγειν

(Lines 1–7) 'To Aurelius Ammonius, *vir perfectissimus*, prefect of Egypt: Aurelius Diogenes alias Eulogius, ex-magistrate of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, dike supervisor ...

'Entrusted with the promotion of the Cynopolite dikes, lord prefect, ... keeping in my heart the fear of the prefecture, I did not cease ... by night and day, together with Lycarion ex-magistrate of the said city of the Cynopolites, until I should ..., and having appointed the water-guards I handed over everything to the persons chosen(?) from the council ... together with the person ordered to promote the work jointly with me. Since, therefore, ...'

2 Aurelius Diogenes alias Eulogius has not been recorded previously in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

For the *χωματεπείκτης* see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aeg.* 44 (1964) 17–19. Further references are P. Laur. IV 167 (*ἐπείκεται δημοσίων χωμάτων*); P. Beatty Panop. 2.222 and n., 226; CPR XIV 54.2; SB XVI 12384–5.

3 ἡγεμ[ῶν]. Strictly, by this date this term should be used for the *praeses* only. However, at this date all the territory pertinent to 4492 was still under the control of the prefect, and cf. *ἡγεμονία*[ς] in 4.

4 ἐν στέρνοις ... [φ]όβον. Cf. e.g. LIV 3757 8–9, 3758 84–5, νύκτ[ω]ρ τ[ε] καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας? Cf. LIV 3746 8, 32–3, 57–8.

6 For the ὑδροφύλακες cf. N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services (Pap. Flor. XXVIII)* 48.

R. A. COLES

4493. LETTER TO THAESIS

16 2B.48/B(a)

13.8 × 26.2 cm

First half of fourth century

Apart from a hole at the top right, the papyrus is complete. It is written in a large, clear semi-cursive typical of the late third or first half of the fourth century. As the logistes is mentioned (lines 12 and 19), the papyrus is not earlier than the fourth century.

Since we have no idea of the background, the meaning of much of the letter is unclear to us. For the most part it consists of a series of instructions to Thaeasis, the writer's mother. One of these instructions is to petition the logistes with a request for the supply of bakers. This may indicate that the writer held a public office and was concerned in the provision of bakers requisitioned by the state; see lines 13–14 n.

κυρία μου μητρὶ Θαίσει[ι 'H]ρα-

κλε[ί]δης υἱῷ πλείστα χαίρει[ει]ν.

τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ καθ' ἐ-

κάστην ἡμέραν παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ

5 θε<ῶ>. μὴ ἀμελήσεις οὐδ' ἐνόχλη-

σον αὐτοῖς. ἔντελλε Ἀρτεμιδώρου

ὅτι καθὼς εἰρήκαμέν σοι ὅτι μὴ

ἀμελήσεις' εἰὰν ἀπέσχη ἢ πρώτη

ἡμέρα τῆς ἰορτῆς μὴ ἀφῆς αὐτοῖς

10 μηδεμίαν ἡμέραν. ἐὰν μάθῃς
οὖν ὅτι οὐκ αἰφρόντικάν και, ὅ-
παγε πρὸς τὸν λογιστῆς και ἔν-
τυχε αὐτῷ ὅτι εἰ δός μοι τοὺς ἀρτο-
κόπους εἰ δός μοι γράμματα πρὸς
15 Διονυσόδωρον· ὅτι και μὴ ἀμελήσεις
περὶ τοῦ αἰλέου. ἀσπάζομε τὴν
ἀδελφὴν μου. ὕπαγε πρὸς τὸν
ἐφατῆν μου Μῶρον τὸν χειριστῆν
και ὑπάγι τῷ λογιστῆ και βάλλι
20 αὐτοὺς ἕξω. ὑπηρέτησον τὰ
ὀρνίτια. μὴ πωλήσεις οὖν ἐ-
ξ αὐτῶν ἄχρη. ἔλθω. ἐρρώσθαι σε
εὐχομε πολλοῖς χρ(όνοις).

Back, along fibres:

ἀπόδ(ος) Θασις παρ(ὰ) Ὠρίωνος κλειβ(ανέως).

2 ὕπα, 1. υἱός 5⁴-6 1. ἐνοχλήσειν 6 1. Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ 8 ἀπέσχη, see note 9 ἰορτής,
1. ἑορτής 11 1. ἐφρόντικάν σε 11-12 ὕπαγε 12 1. λογιστῆν 13 1. ἤ; so 1.14 16 1.
ἐλαίου, ἀσπάζομαι 17 ὕπαγε 18 μωρον, ω corrected; 1. Μῶρον?, see note; 1. χειριστῆν 19 ὕπαγι,
1. ὑπάγει, βάλλει 20 ὑπηρέτησον 21 1. ὀρνίθια 23 1. εὐχομαι; χρ- 24 αποδ/ //θασιςπαρ//
(gap) αριωνοκλειβ//; 1. Θαίσει, κλιβανέως

'To my lady mother Thaisis Heraclides her son sends very many greetings.

I make obeisance for you every day to the lord god. Don't neglect to keep pestering them. Instruct Artemidorus "As we told you, don't be negligent; if the first day of the festival ..., don't let them off a single day". If you learn that they have taken no notice of you, approach the logistes and petition him "either give me the bakers or give me a letter to Dionysodorus". And don't be negligent with regard to the oil. I greet my sister. Approach my agent(?) Morus, the assistant(?), and he will approach the logistes and he will throw them out. Look after the chickens. Don't sell any of them until I come. I pray that you will long fare well.'

Back: 'Deliver to Thaisis from Horion the pastry-cook'.

1-2 It is very surprising that on the back the letter is said to have come from a certain Horion. This and the occurrence of *ωω* in line 2 might suggest that we should insert *καί* after *Θαίσει* in line 1 and correct to *Ἡρακλεῖ[δ]ῶ[ς]*, i.e. the letter is addressed jointly to Thaisis and Heraclides. Objections to this are formidable: there is insufficient room to insert *καί* in the lacuna in line 1, the sender of the letter would in that case not be indicated in line 2, and the letter throughout uses the singular of the addressee.

3-5 On this formula see LIX 3998 4-5 n.

5-6 *μὴ ἀμελήσεις οὖν ἐνόχλησον αὐτοῖς*: *μὴ ἀμελήσεις* is also used in lines 7-8, 15, and *μὴ πωλήσεις* in line 21. The imperatival use of the future indicative is common, but the negative is regularly *οὐ* (see E. Mays, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, II 1, 212-213, B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek non-literary Papyri*, §396), suggesting that in our papyrus the writer may have intended the aorist subjunctive in each case; for the very common use of *μὴ ἀμελήσεις*, often as here with the addition of *οὖν*, see Mandilaras, §563(1). *μὴ ἀμελήσεις* does, however, occur in P. Cair. Masp. I 67078.8, BGU III 816.21 and P. Amh. II 144.24. For the expression used here cf. VIII 1159 11-12, *μὴ ἀμελήσεις τοῦ ἐνοχλήσαι Θωάειω*.

7ff. The writer shows an excessive fondness for *ὅτι*, presumably *ὅτι τελεσίαισι*, cf. the note to lines 13-15. Here we should perhaps interpret the first *ὅτι* as introducing the actual words of the instruction as given to Artemidorus, and the second *ὅτι* as a quotation of the words used in an earlier instruction to him. However that may be, it is unclear at what point the instruction ceased. It is perhaps most likely, as has been assumed in the translation, that the words *ἐὰν ἀπέσχη το ἡμέραν* form part of the instruction to Artemidorus, and that with the words *ἐὰν μάθῃς* the writer is once again addressing Thaisis.

8 ἀπέσχη: there is a hook at the end of epsilon which is almost certainly to be taken as a sigma and is not just part of epsilon. ἀπέσχη is most easily taken as a mistake for ἀπέσχη (cf. perhaps F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* II 225), with *ἡ πρώτη ἡμέρα* as the subject; but the writer's use of cases is so arbitrary that we cannot be sure of this. The problem is to decide what the verb ἀπέσχω could mean in the context. It would make good sense if the sentence were conveying the instruction that the people involved are not to be allowed even a single day's grace if they fail to fulfil their obligations (to supply bakers?) on the due day, which is the first day of the festival; cf. PSI I 63.23ff., *καὶ τοῦτο ἡμολ(ογῶ) παρασχεῖν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ θηδ[ε]ῖ ἡμέρα τῆς ἑορτῆς*. But it is not clear how ἀπέσχω could bear a meaning which would suit this interpretation.

9 For other instances of ἰορτή for ἑορτή see Gignac, *Grammar* I, 249.

13-15 Cf. the note to lines 7ff. In line 13 it is clear that the actual words to be used in the petition to the logistes are being quoted, but it is very hard to see what the writer meant by inserting *ὅτι* in line 15. Is it just a mistake or are we still dealing with quotation of instructions given to Artemidorus?

13-14 On ἀρτοκόποι see E. Battaglia, 'Artas'. *Il lessico della panificazione nei papiri greci* (1989), 171-9. The writer may well be referring to the requisitioning of bakers, for which cf., e.g., P. Beatty Panop. 1. 77-79 (298). At that date the order to deal with this requisition was sent to the strategus, but similar requisitions were regularly sent via the logistes later in the fourth century: cf. B. R. Rees, *JJP* 7-8 (1953-4) 98, and J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile*, 108-9.

17-18 Cf. X 1299 15ff., ἀσπάζομαι τὸν Ἐφατῆν και τὴν σύμβιον αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις. The use of the article (as in the present text) casts doubt on the editors' assumption that *ἐφατῆν* is a personal name. In fact the one thing we can be certain about the word is that it is not a personal name, since it occurs in the plural in P. Mich. III 204.4-6, *πεποιήκα τοῖς ἐφασταις μου ἀγδιαν και θέλω ἐξερθῆν ἀπ' αὐτῶν* (where the editors take it to be a misspelling of ἐπιεράταις, which is most unlikely). *ἐφατῆς* is not in LSJ or the new supplement. LSJ records a word *ἐφατῆς* meaning 'one who smelts ore', as well as *ἐπέτης*, found in Pindar and in P. Ryl. IV 627.146, where the editors compare Latin *scultor*. More promising is the occurrence in the Glossaries of *ἐφετής*, CGL II 24.37: *arillator ἐφετής βυμοφορος πρᾶγμαστειτής*. In the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* the translation "broker, huckster" is suggested for *arillator*, and the possibility (put forward by Skutsch, see TLL s.v.) is mentioned that the word may be connected with *arra*. It may well be that *ἐφατῆς* in the papyrus is the same as the *ἐφετής* of the Glossaries and that it describes business associates of the writers in each case, perhaps agents in financial transactions.

18 Should we correct to Μῶρον or should we keep the genitive and understand the words to mean 'the assistant of Morus'?

19 The verbs are no doubt to be understood as presents with a future sense (cf. Mandilaras, op. cit. §§214-221). What is not clear is whether the subject of both verbs is the same or whether, as is perhaps more likely, the logistes is the subject of βάλλει.

24 The unexpected statement that the letter has been sent by Horion and not by Heraclides the writer of the letter, has already been mentioned (lines 1-2 n.). It is noteworthy that in VIII 1142 9-10, a letter assigned to the late third century, there is a reference to Ὠρίων ὁ κλιβανέως; there must be a very good chance that both papyri refer to the same man. This would guarantee that the word is to be expanded κλειβανέως here and that we need not consider the possibility of a reference to a κριβανέως. For the κλιβανέως or κριβανέως, a baker or pastry-cook, see Battaglia, op. cit. 188.

U. SCHLAG
J. DAVID THOMAS

INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or Suppl. The article and *καί* are not indexed.

I. LITERARY TEXTS

- Homeric quotations (unless new) are not indexed, nor are the Herodotean lemmas in **4455**.
- α'* (= πρώτῃ) **4455** i 2
Μαθακλῆς [**4456** 9]
Μαγαμέμων **4460** ¹ 1
Μαγιά **4463** 5
Μαγ **4462** ¹ 5?
ἀδελφή **4460** ² 7–8
λέκων **4465** ii 2
Μθρῆ **4460** ² 9
ἀθρεῖν **4463** 6
ἀθροῦζειν **4451** 5?
Αίας **4460** ¹ [6, 7]
Μίδης **4460** ² 5
αἰτιάσασθαι **4452** ⁶ 2
ἄκτῃ **4465** ii 2?
ἄκτις **4466** 1
ἄκων *see* *ἄέκων*
ἀλέκτωρ **4452** ⁵ i 14, 22
Μλεξ- **4457** ³ 8
Ἀληθής **4452** ¹ 9?
Μλκμος **4452** ¹ 3?
Ἀλλήλους [**4452** ⁹ 9?]
ἄλλος **4453** ¹ 7?, [11]
ἀνα(-) **4454** ³ 3
Ἀνάβας [**4455** i 2]
ἀνάγειν **4458** i 11
ἀναπιθῆναι **4458** ii 27
ἀνέκαθεν **4455** ii 15
ἄνηρ **4451** 1
ἄνῃ [**4451** 2?, 3?]
ἀντιγραφ- **4452** ¹ 17?
Ἀντικλεια **4460** ¹ 3
Ἀντίνοος **4453** ² 4
ἄνωτερος **4465** ii 1?
ἄπαρτί **4455** ii 6
ἄπαρτίζειν **4454** ² 2
ἄπας **4458** i 18
ἀπό **4452** ⁹, ¹¹ 5? [**4454** ¹ 8] **4455** i 8 **4467** 4?
ἀπολόγηεν [**4452** ³ i 16]
ἀπολλύειν [**4467** 9?]
Ἀπολλώνιος **4457** ³ 3, 4
- Ἀράβιος* **4458** ii 12
Ἀργεῖοι **4452** ¹ 13
ἀριθμός **4455** i 8
Ἀρίσταρχος **4452** ² 3, ⁶ 5, ⁸ 6 **4457** ³ 3
Ἀριστοτέλης **4458** ii 22
Ἀριστοφάνης **4452** ¹ 5
ἄρκτος **4458** i 13–14
ἄρκενός **4454** ¹ 14
ἄρχεσθαι **4454** ¹ 8
ἀκτινία [**4452** ⁵ i 11?]
Ἀσκληπιάδ- **4457** ¹ 5
ἀστερής [**4466** 2?]
ἀστερτής **4462** ¹ 3
Ἄτλας **4460** ² 11–12
ἀτρυγέτος **4452** ¹ 12, 15 **4466** 4
αἰὼν- **4462** ¹ 1
αἰτός **4452** ⁵ i 14, 18, ¹⁰ 2? **4453** ² 3, ³ 6 **4457** ² 6
4458 i 19, ii 23
Ἀφροδίτη **4454** ⁵ 4? **4463** 14
ἀφρός **4458** ii 9
Ἀχιλλεύς **4452** ⁵ i 11, ⁸ 2 **4460** ¹ [2]
ἄχος **4465** ii 1?
- β'* **4452** ⁵ i 10 (= δευτέρα), ⁷ 15 (= δύο)
Βάκχη **4463** 4
βελτίων **4454** ¹ 10
(-)βλέπειν **4464** 2
βλαῖζειν **4466** 5
βόσκειν **4452** ⁵ i 21
βοῦλεσθαι **4458** i 4–5, ii 21
βρούεν **4454** ³ 4
βυθός **4467** 7
βῶτωρ **4452** ⁵ i 21
- γαῖα* **4452** ¹ 15
γάρ **4452** ⁵ i 16, 19 **4453** ¹ 12, ² 2 **4453** ³ 6 **4454** ¹ 4
4455 ii 7, 11 **4457** ³ 3 **4458** i [6], 16, 18 **4467** 6
γε **4451** 3 **4464** 6?
γενῶν [**4456** 14?]

I. LITERARY TEXTS

195

- γέφυρα* [**4455** i 13?]
Γεφυραῖοι **4455** ii 16
Γῆ **4460** ² 2
γίνεσθαι **4452** ⁸ 4
γινώσκειν **4452** ⁵ i 11
γλαυκῶπις **4452** ¹ 17
γνώμη **4458** ii 25
γραμματικός [**4454** ¹ 18?]
γράφειν [**4452** ⁵ i 2] **4457** ¹ 7? **4458** i 4
(-)γράφειν [**4452** ² 6]
γραφή **4463** 9
γυνή **4460** ² 7
- δ'* (= τετάρτη) **4452** ¹ 21
δαίμων **4466** 7
δαμάζειν (*δαμνέτες*) **4450** i 6
Δαναοί [**4450** ii 2?]
δέ **4451** 5 **4452** ¹ 14, 15, ² 4, 7, ⁵ i 6, 10 a.c., 14, ² 23 p.c.? **4453** ¹ 4, 15 **4455** ii 16 **4458** ii 6, 12, 14, ii 11, 15, 18, 27 **4462** ⁴ 2
δεικνύειν **4463** 12?
δενός **4452** ¹ 16, ⁵ 1
δευτερος *see* *β'*
Δηιδάμεια **4452** ⁸ 13
Δηϊπύλη **4460** ¹ 4
Δημήτηρ **4460** ² 6
Δημόκριτος [**4456** 13?]
δηροστον *see* *δεδηροστον*
διά **4452** ⁵ i 13, ¹³ 5? [**4455** i 3] **4467** 11?
δια(-) **4457** ² 6
διακομείν **4452** ⁵ i 21
διαστέλλειν **4453** ¹ 1, 8
διάφανος **4455** i 18, [ii 10?]
διάχυνος [**4462** ³ 3?]
διδόναι **4452** ⁵ i 22 **4454** ² 4 **4463** 3
Δίδυμος **4455** i 13 **4457** ³ 2?
Διομήδης **4460** ¹ [4]
Διονυσίδαυρος [**4457** ² 5?]
Διονύσιος **4452** ¹ 19
διπτός **4457** ⁴ 3?
δοκεῖν **4452** ³ i 15
δόμος **4450** i 2, 7
δῶν **4452** ³ 6
Δοῦρις [**4456** 9]
δύο [**4455** i 5] *and see* *β'*
δύεμορος [**4464** 3?]
δῶτωρ **4464** 4?
δῶτωρ **4452** ⁵ i 22
- εβδομ-* **4453** ⁴ 6?
εγκλησις [**4452** ⁶ 4?]
ἐγώ **4461** ii 9 **4463** 10?
εἰ **4455** ii 11
εἰδέναι **4461** ii 3?
- εἶδος* **4457** ³ 4?
εἰκοσι **4455** i 4
εἶναι **4452** ² [4], 6, ³ 2, ⁵ i 19, [23], ⁶ 1? **4455** ii 2, 7, 11
εἰρηναῖος **4460** ² 12–13
εἰς **4455** i 4
εἰς **4452** ⁵ i 16 **4453** ² 3 **4456** 10 **4457** ³ 4?, **εἰς** **4462** ⁴ 1
ἐκ **4458** i 18
ἐκαετος **4450** i 3
ἐκόηλος **4455** ii 13
ἐκόδικος **4461** ii 4
(?)κεῖνος **4462** ⁴ 2 **4465** ii 3
ἐκπέμπειν **4458** ii 16–17
ἐλάττων **4455** i 8
ἐλέφας **4458** ii 15–16
ἔλκεν **4458** i 19a
Ἐλλην **4461** ii 2
ἔλπεσθαι [**4450** i 4?]
ἐμβρυον **4456** 13?
ἐμός **4463** 10?
ἐν **4452** [i 17, 20], ² 7, 8, ⁵ i 10 **4455** [i 2], ii 11, 12 **4456** 9 **4457** ² 5 **4458** i 7 **4467** 7, 8
ἐναυ(ε)ος **4453** ¹ 6
ἐνενηκοντα **4455** i 10
ἐνέργεια **4452** ⁵ i 18
ἐνεργεῖν **4452** ⁵ i 1
ἐνθα **4454** ¹ 9
ἐντεθῆναι **4458** i 11
ἐξεῖναι **4458** i 5
εὐό [**4452** ⁵ 4] **4464** 6?
ἐπεὶ **4451** 5
ἐπιγλις **4465** i 4?
ἐπί **4452** ¹ 10, ³ 9, ⁶ 13 **4454** ⁶ 2? **4458** ii 15 **4465** ii 2? **4466** 6?
ἐπιχειρῶν **4453** ¹ 19
ἐπικλείειν **4456** 11
ἐπικρατεῖν **4454** ¹ 13?, 16?
ἐπιμένειν **4454** ⁶ 2?
ἐπισύρειν **4458** ii 10
ἐπιτάσσειν **4452** ⁵ i 20
ἐράςμος **4450** i 4
Ἐριφύλη **4463** 3
Ἐριώπις **4460** ¹ 6
Ἐριμῆς **4452** ¹ 1 **4460** ² 11
ἔρχεσθαι **4458** i 14
Ἐρώς **4463** 8
ἐρατικός **4463** 9
εὐ **4464** 6?
εἰδός, -εἶα **4453** ¹ 21
ἐδρίκειν **4453** ¹ 4
Εὐρύμαχος [**4453** ² 5]
ἔχων **4458** i 5
ὄκω **4454** ³ 2?

- προδόκιμος **4453**² 7?
 προσεθμένα **4453**¹ 9
 πρότασις [4455 i 11?]
 προχέειν **4458** ii 3
 πρώτος **4452**⁷ 21? and see α'
 (-)πτερο| **4461** i 5
 πύλη [4455 i 13]
 πυνθάνεσθαι **4453**² 5
 Πύρρος **4460**¹ 5
- Ῥέα **4460**² 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
 ῤέξιν **4454**² 7?
 ῤήμα **4452**⁵ i 17
 ῤοά **4450** i 8?
- Σελευκ- [4457³ 14]
 Σέλευκος **4452**¹ 5?
 (-)σεμνύνειν **4457**³ 18?
 σημαίνειν **4452**⁵ i 18, 19
 σημάντωρ **4452**⁵ i 19
 Σικελία **4456** 10
 *σιωπώμενος [4453¹ 12]
 Σκάμανδρος [4450 i 9?]
 Σμέρδις **4454**³ 3
 σοφ- **4454**⁵ 3
 σοφός **4458** ii 24
 σταγειν **4466** 3
 στάδιον **4455** ii 11
 σταθμός **4455** i 3
 στεναχίζειν [4452¹ 14?]
 σύ **4454**¹ 9 **4462**¹ 2? (bis?) **4463** 12? **4464** 8?
 σύν **4463** 2?
 σύναρθρον **4452**⁴ 4?
 συνήθης **4456** 7
 σβριγέ **4452**⁵ 5
 συστολή [4452² 6?]
 σφέτερος **4450** i 3
 σφραγίς **4463** 7
 σχοινίον **4467** 10
- παρφείαι **4452**¹ 24
 πάφος **4461** i 6?
 πάχα [4455 i 5?]
 ταχύς **4452**¹ 24
 τε **4450** i 3 **4453**² 4
 τεύρεα **4466** 2?
 Τελαμών **4460**¹ 7
 τεσσαράκοντα **4455** i 5
 τέταρτος see δ'
 τέχνη **4454**³ 2
 Τηλέμαχος [4453² 6]
 τίς **4453**² 11? **4461** ii 4
 τις **4453**¹ 7?, [10]
 τοιοῦτος **4453**¹ 12

- τοξότης **4463** 8
 τραγωιδιοποιός **4457**³ 7
 τράχηλος **4452**⁵ i 3
 τρεῖς **4455** ii 12
 τρέχειν **4452**⁵ i 2
 τροπή **4458** i 13
 τρόπος **4453**¹ 1
 τροφή [4452¹ 6, 10]
 Τρύων **4450** i 5
 τυγχάνειν **4458** i 10?
 Τυδεΐς **4460**¹ 4
 -τωρ **4452**⁵ i 16 ff.

- υγρός **4458** i 12, 19a
 ὑδατοεῖς **4467** 8?
 ὕδωρ **4467** 8?
 νιός **4457**² 4 **4460**² 2, 3
 Ὑπερίων **4452**⁵ i 4 [4466 1?] [4467 6?]
 ὑπεριμεγέθης **4456** 15?
 ὑπὸ **4452**¹ 7 **4463** 15
 ὑποχορηγεῖν [4452¹ 8?]

- φαεσιμβροτος [4452⁵ i 8?]
 φάνας **4452**¹ 6 **4454**¹ 18? **4455** i 13 **4457**²
 6 **4458** i [8]
 φέρειν **4458** i 10–11
 φεύγειν **4450** i 1
 φθέγγεσθαι **4452**¹ 14
 φθονεῖν **4461** ii 3
 φίλ- **4454**² 3
 Φιλάδελφος **4458** ii 19
 φρονιζέειν **4451** 2, 3
 Φρυγία **4455** i 3
 φυλάσσειν **4452**¹ 7
 φωνή **4452**⁷ 20?

- Χαιρήμων **4452**¹ 19?
 Χαίρις **4452**¹ 24?
 χειμών **4458** i 7
 χεῖρ **4467** 5
 Χλῶρις **4460**¹ 9
 χυός **4465** i 6?

- ψυχρός **4452**⁵ i 9

- ὦ **4462**¹ 2 **4466** 7?
 ὡς **4452**¹ 24, 25, 3¹ i 2 **4457**³ 13
 ὡσεῖτε **4452**² 7?
 ὡσπερ **4454**¹ 4

- Authors, scholars, texts**
 Anacreon fr. 1 Gent. (PMG 348) **4451** 1
 Apollonius (δ' εἰδογράφος) **4457**³ 3, 4

- Aristarchus **4452** [1¹ 24?], 2³ (at *Ἀρχου*), 6⁵,
 *6 **4457**³ 3 (2l. πρὸς τ(ι) α-)
 Aristophanes (of Byzantium) **4452**¹ 5, [25?], [2⁸ 8?],
 [3² 3?]
 Asclepiades **4457**¹ 5?
 Callimachus **4457**³ 6
 Callistratus *περὶ Ὀδυσσεύας* bk.4 **4452**¹ 21
 Chaeris **4452**¹ 24
 city-texts (of *Iliad*) **4452**² 9
 Democritus **4456** 13?
 Didymus **4455** i 13 **4457**² 2
 Dionysius son(?) of Cha- **4452**¹ 19
 Dionysodoros(?) *περὶ τῆς πο-* **4457**² 5
 Duris *περὶ Ἀγαθοκλέα* **4456** 9
 Heragoras **4457**¹ 7
 Herodotus 5.52–55 **4455** i–ii
 Homer **4454**¹ 2?
Il. 1.57, 58 **4451** 5, 6
- 19.350, 351+, 357 **4452**¹ 3, 11–17, 23–4
 19.383, 384, 386 **4452**¹ 1–2?, 3–4, 5
 19.387, 388 **4452**⁵ 5, 8
 19.392, 393, 398 **4452**⁵ i 1, 2–3, 4
 19.398a?, 405, 407 **4452**² 2, 10, 15
 19.415 f. **4452**¹ 13–15
 22.316 **4452**² 1–2?
 23.694 **4452**¹ 23
 24.542 **4451** 4
Od. 1.103/4, 113 f. **4453** 2–3, 16–19
 5.93 **4452**¹ 1–2
 κριτικοί, οἱ **4457**¹ 6
Μακκαλιωτική, ἡ (of *Iliad*) **4452**¹ 18
 Praxiphanes **4457**² 6
 Seleucus **4452**¹ 5 **4457**³ 14?
 Xenophon *Anabasis* bk. 1 **4455** i 2–3
 Ζε- *περὶ τῆς Ἀχλλέως ἀε[γ]τίας*(?) bk. 2 **4452**⁵ i 10–11
 Zenodotus **4452**² 4, [1⁵ 3?]

II. MAGIC, RELIGION AND ASTROLOGY

- α and ω (in Christian monogram) [4469 41]
 ἄβανθον **4468** r i 30
 ἀγαθοποιός **4476** ↓ 12–13
 ἀγαθός **4468** r i 24 **4476** →8, 11, 18
 ἄγιος **4468** r i 13, 25, 31
 ἀγρυνεῖν **4468** v i 18, ii [4?]
 ἀγρυνητικόν [4468 v ii 11]
 ἀγρυντία **4468** v ii 1?, ii [4?]
 Ἀγρόκερας **4473** 15
 Ἀγρυντικί **4468** v ii 23
 Ἀγρυντος **4471** 12, 17, 18
 αἴτιος **4476** ↓ 3
 αἰών **4468** r i 14
 ἀκαταστασία **4472** 18
 ἀκατασταεῖν **4471** 21
 ἀλάβης **4468** r i 11
 ἀλαζών **4476** ↓ 9
 ἀληθινός **4468** r i 31, [32]
 ἄλκιμος **4468** r i [1], 25
 ἄλλος **4468** v ii 2?
 ἀλφός **4476** ↓ 4
 ἄν **4468** v ii 22 (κάν)
 ἀνάβασις **4471** 7
 ἀναδέχεσθαι **4476** →7
 ἀνάμετος **4468** v i 10
 ἐναξ **4468** v i 5
 ἀνατείνειν **4472** 19
 ἀνατέλλειν **4471** 6, 15
 ἄνηθον **4468** r i 15
 ἄνηρ **4468** v i 23 **4472** 20
 ἀνθρωποειδής **4476** →3
 ἀνθρωπος **4468** v i 21

- ἀνοήγειν **4468** r i 21, 33
 ἀνόμιλος **4476** ↓ 10
 ἀπειλητικός **4476** ↓ 11
 ἀπέρχεσθαι **4471** 19
 ἄπιατος **4468** r i 34
 ἀπό **4468** v i 12, 13 **4471** 23 **4473** 22–23
 ἀπόκριφος **4476** →9
 ἀπολλύναι **4471** 9, 14, 20
 ἄπτερος **4468** r i 20
 ἄρης **4477** passim
 ἀριθμός **4473** 24, 27
 ἀριστερός **4468** v i 19
 ἀρκενικός **4476** →1
 ἀρκεῖν **4476** →5–6
 ἄστατος **4476** ↓ 10
 ἀστήρ **4473** 29 **4474** 1–2
 ἀσύνδετος **4476** ↓ 5
 ἀξάνειν **4471** 2
 αὐτός **4468** r i 35, 37, ii [12?], v i 2, 24, ii 4, 7 **4471**
 20, 23 **4473** 28 **4476** ↓ 4, →15
 ἀφανίζειν **4468** r i 18
 ἀφιστάειν **4471** 16
 Ἀφροδίτη [4468 v i 8] **4476** ↓ 15 **4477** passim
 ἀφουος **4476** →17
 ἀχρηματικὸς **4476** →14–15

- βαδίζειν [4468 v ii 3?]
 βάλλειν **4468** v i 11
 Βασιλεύς **4471** 12, 18
 βασιλικός **4476** ↓ 14
 βλαστάνειν **4471** 8–9
 βοηθεῖν (4469 42?)

βοϊκός 4471 13
 βοτάνη 4468 ri 15, vi 1
 βουλλεβαί 4468 vi 20
 βρέχων 4471 22

γαία 4468 vi 12, 13
 γεωργικός 4476 ↓ 17
 γή 4468 ri 12, [21?]
 γίγνεσθαι 4476 ↓ 6, 13, →4, 4–5, 7
 γίνεσθαι 4468 ri [4], 23, 24 (bis), 37
 γλυκός 4468 vi 22
 γνώμη 4476 ↓ 9
 γραμμασιεύς 4476 →5
 γράφειν 4476 →15
 γυνή 4468 vi 23

δαδούχος [4468 vi 5?]
 δαίμων 4472 8
 δέ 4468 ri 29, vi 122, ii 22, 8 4471 15 4476 ↓ 5,
 12, →4, 7
 –δε 4468 vi 12
 δεῦν 4473 22, 28
 δεῦνα 4468 ri (6 bis), (29 bis), vi (17 bis), (22), 25?,
 ii (3 bis), 8, 19, (19)
 δευός 4468 vi 25?
 δεκανός 4473 passim
 δένδρον 4468 ri 12, 19
 δημόσιος 4476 →4, 18
 διά 4468 vi 10?, ii 1? 4471 8
 διακινεῖν 4468 ri 34
 διακόπτειν 4469 38–39
 διανᾶν 4468 vi 10?
 διδύναμις 4468 vi 22 4470 3–4
 Δίδυμοι 4471 15–16 4473 2
 δίκαιος 4476 ↓ 8
 δίμορον 4473 4
 δίσωμος 4476 →3
 δοκεῖν 4476 →15
 δόξα 4469 32? 4476 ↓ 3
 δουλελεύθερος 4476 ↓ 17
 δοῦλος 4476 →17
 δράκος 4468 vi 2, 11, 15
 δύνασθαι 4474 5
 δύνειν 4468 ri 23
 δυσμή 4468 ri 18
 δώδεκα 4473 4
 δωρεῖν 4468 vi 16

εἶν 4468 ri 23 (bis), 29, vi 20 4471 6, 15, 24
 εἰαυτοῦ 4472 1
 ἐγείρειν 4468 vi 7
 ἐγώ 4468 ri 5, 26 (bis), 27, vi 14, 16, 22 4469
 34 4470 2, 3
 ἔθειν 4476 →10

εἰ 4470 1
 εἰδέναι 4468 ri 7, 8
 εἰδῶλον 4468 ri 4, ii 5
 εἶναι 4468 ri 9, 13, 21?, 27, 33 4471 3, 6, 10,
 13 4473 27 4474 3 4476 ↓ 5, 6, →1
 εἰς 4468 ri 29, 30 (bis), vi 12 4477 i
 εἰς 4472 9 4474 1 4476 →12
 εἰσέρχεσθαι 4468 vi 22 4470 1–2
 ἔκ 4468 ri 15, 21, 22, 26 4474 1 4475 5
 ἔκαστος 4468 ri 32 4476 →12
 ἐκλειπτικός 4476 ↓ 5–6
 ἐκλεῖψις 4473 29
 ἐκρηγγάναι 4468 ri 28
 ἔλαιον 4468 ri 31
 ἐλασσόν 4476 →11–12
 ἐλάχιστος 4474 4
 ἐλεύθερος 4476 ↓ 8
 ἐπιός 4469 34
 ἐμπορικός 4476 →8
 ἐμπροσθεν 4472 5
 ἐν 4468 ri 6, 8, 9 (bis), 10, 11, [12], 12, 14 (bis), 16,
 17, 21, 28, 34, ii 7, vi 4 4469 32? 4471 6, 11,
 12, 14, 15, 17 (bis) 4472 8, 10 4473 29 4474
 3 4476 ↓ 4, 6
 ἐνδεής 4472 11
 ἐνδέκατος 4477 1
 ἐνδοξος 4469 32?
 ἐναΐσιος 4474 5
 ἐξ 4468 ri 37?
 ἐξαιματίζειν 4468 ri 6
 ξειμικός 4468 ri 28
 ἐξαφέναι 4468 ri 37?
 ἐξέρχεσθαι 4468 vi 20, 22
 ἐξουσιαστικός 4476 ↓ 13–14
 ἔορτή 4474 5
 ἐπάδειν 4468 vi 21
 ἐπακούειν 4468 ri 26, 27
 ἐπαιοδῆ 4468 vi [26], ii 10 See also ἐπιωδῆ
 Ἐπειός 4477 1
 ἐπέρχεσθαι 4472 6
 ἐπί 4468 ri 32, ii 19, 24?, vi 2 4473 23
 ἐπιθύνειν 4468 vi 12?
 Ἐπιμαχος 4469 21–22, 23–24
 ἐπιπίπτειν 4472 21
 ἐπισημασία 4473 3
 ἐπισημος 4476 ↓ 7
 ἐπιτακτικός 4476 ↓ 7–8
 ἐπιτιθέναι 4468 vi 19
 ἐπιτολή 4473 23
 ἐπιφαίνειν 4468 ri 17, 25–26
 ἐπιφανής 4468 ri 15–16
 ἐπιχειν 4468 ri 31
 ἐπιωδῆ 4468 ri 26 See also ἐπαιοδῆ
 ἐριμνεύς 4476 →7–8

Ἐριμνός 4468 vi 7 4477 passim
 ἐρπετόν 4468 ri 15
 ἔθειν 4468 vi 6?
 εὐμετάβολος 4476 →18
 εὐρίσκων 4473 22
 ἐφήμερος [4468 ri 24?]
 ἔχειν 4468 ri 8, 21 4472 4 4476 ↓ 14–15
 ζῶω 4468 vi 22 4472 7

Ζεύς 4468 ri 2, 26, [35?], vi 6 4477 passim
 ζῆν 4468 ri [18], 21, 22
 Ζυγός 4473 10
 ζώδιον 4472 3 4475 5 4476 →13
 ζωή 4469 42 4476 ↓ 14
 ζῶων 4468 ri 9, 10

ἦ 4468 vi 23 4471 17 4476 →11 (bis), 14
 ἡγεμονικός 4476 ↓ 8–9
 ἦκεν 4468 ri 5, 26
 ἦλος 4468 ri 25 4473 29 4477 passim
 Ἡλιούπολις 4468 ri 13, 30
 ἡμέρα 4468 ri 7, 28, 32, ii 8, [24?], vi 4 4473
 24 4474 3
 Ἥρα 4468 vi 7
 ἦτοι 4476 →11

θάλαμος [4468 vi 8–9?]
 θάνατος 4468 ri 23 4471 5 4476 ↓ 14
 θεός 4468 ri 27
 θελος 4472 7
 θεός 4468 ri 27
 θεραπεύειν 4469 21 (εκεθεραπειεν), 23, 34, 41
 θηλυκός 4476 →16
 θηλύνην 4476 →2
 θρασύς 4476 ↓ 9

ἴδιος 4472 20 4476 →11
 ἱερός 4468 ri 10
 Ἰαρός 4468 ri 23, 27
 ἴνα 4469 23 4476 →15
 Ἰππαρχος 4475 6
 Ἰσημερία 4474 5 4475 4
 Ἰχθύες 4473 19
 ἰχθύς 4471 4 4472 17

καθά 4475 6
 καθεύδειν 4468 vi [13?], 19
 κακός 4471 13 4476 →8, 11
 καλέσθαι 4474 2
 καλῶς 4476 ↓ 12
 καμνύνειν [4468 ri 3?]
 κἀνθάρος 4468 ri 12, ii [19?], [27]
 καρδάμμων 4468 ri 12
 Καρκίνος 4473 <4> 4476 →16

κατά 4468 ri 32 4476 ↓ 6, →11, 13
 καταλέπειν 4472 1
 καταωφής 4476 →17
 κείσθαι 4468 ri 33
 κλειδούχος [4468 vi 5?]
 κλεινός 4468 vi 7?
 κλίνειν 4468 vi 7?
 κλῶν 4468 vi 7?
 κλωή 4468 vi 7?
 κολωμα 4477 passim
 κόσμος 4476 ↓ 2–3, 16, →17
 κρυτικός 4476 →8
 Κρόνος 4477 passim
 κτήνος 4471 9, 13–14
 κνιδετός 4468 vi 6
 κνυοκέφαλος 4468 ri 13, 36
 Κυπρογένεια [4468 vi 9–10]
 κύριος (4469 38)
 Κύων 4473 23, 29

λαμβάνειν 4468 vi 21
 λαμπρός 4476 ↓ 7
 λέγειν 4468 vi 20
 λεπτόν 4477 9, 24
 Λέων 4473 6
 λέων 4468 ri 11
 λιπαρός 4468 vi 23
 λόγος 4468 vi 20, ii 15, [23] 4476 ↓ 7
 λούειν 4468 vi 4

Μαῖας 4468 vi 7
 μαρτυρεῖν 4476 ↓ 13
 μεγαλόψυχος 4476 ↓ 9–10
 μέγας 4471 6, 12–13
 μέγιστος 4468 ri 25, 31, 34, vi 6 4474 4
 μεζῶν 4476 →12
 μέλις 4473 29
 μέλας 4468 ri 11
 μέλι 4468 ri 23
 μεσουράνημα 4476 ↓ 3
 μετά 4471 8, 19
 μεταβάλλειν 4476 ↓ 11
 μετέωρος 4476 ↓ 10–11
 μή 4468 ri 29, vi 4, 18, ii 6, [6?] 4471 22 4476
 →15

Μήδος 4471 11
 μήτηρ 4468 vi 21
 μικρόπνηρος 4476 ↓ 8
 μονομοιρία 4477 passim
 μορφή 4468 ri 4, 8 (bis), 9, 10, 11 (bis), 12, 14, 22
 μύρανα [4468 vi 25?]
 μύστις 4476 →9

νεσθ (= Νεσυν?) 4468 ri 30
 νήπιος 4468 ri 25

νομήγρία **4473** 28
 νύξ **4477** 1

ὄδε **4468** vi 4, 15
 ὀδοιπορεῖν **4468** ri 20]
 οικοδεσπότης **4476** ↓ 12, → 10, 13
 οικοδεσποτικός **4476** ↓ 7
 οικονομικός **4476** → 6
 οἶκος **4476** ↓ 15, → 16
 ὄλος **4468** vi ii 1?]
 Ὀλύμπιος **4468** ri 17
 Ὀλυμπος **4468** ri 16, vi 12
 ὀμβριος **4468** ri 2, 26
 ὀμοίως **4473** 3
 ὄνομα **4468** ri 7, 13, 15, 16, [17], 24
 ὄνος **4471** 4
 ὄριον **4477** passim
 ὄρνεον **4468** ri 10
 ὄρος **4468** ri 11
 ὄς **4468** ri 9?, 22? **4474** 3, 5
 Ὀσίρις **4468** ri 34, ii 25
 ὄσος **4476** → 10
 ὀστέον **4468** ri 30
 ὄτι **4469** 33
 οὐ **4471** 22 **4472** 2
 οὐ **4468** ri 33 (*bis*), 35
 οὐδέεις **4477** passim
 οὐρανός **4468** ri [8], 16 **4469** 33?
 Ουστεκω **4474** 2
 ὄσπας **4470** 3 **4471** 10 **4472** 6, 10 **4476** ↓ 6, → 12
 ὄστω **4468** vi 14
 ὀφθαλμός **4468** ri 3 (*bis*), 22
 ὄφεις **4468** ri 15, vi 24, 25

παιδεία **4476** → 5
 παλαιστή **4472** 7 (*bis*)
 πανήγυρις **4472** 19
 παρθένος [**4468** vi ii 9?] **4473** 8
 παρρησία **4476** ↓ 14
 πάς **4468** ri 4 (*bis*), [5], 5, 19 (*bis*), [20], 20, 22, 23,
 24, vi ii 11
 Πάβνι **4472** 10
 πεινᾶν **4468** vi ii 6
 περιέργος **4476** → 9
 περιποιστικός **4476** ↓ 16
 πήχυς **4472** 7 **4473** passim
 πίπτει **4476** ↓ 12
 πίστις **4476** → 6–7
 πλήρης **4473** 27
 Πλαύτων **4468** vi 5
 ποιεῖν **4468** ri [22?], 28, 29, ii [14?]
 ποιητικός **4476** → 6
 πόλις [**4468** ri 13]
 πολιτικός **4476** ↓ 2

πορεία **4468** ri 7–8
 πορεύεσθαι **4468** ri 29
 ποταμός **4468** ri 10
 ποτέ **4476** → 10
 ποῦς **4472** 5
 πραγματεία **4473** 28
 πρό **4468** vi ii 11 **4473** 23
 πρόβατον **4471** 4
 προκείσθαι **4474** 1
 προσπαρεκείσθαι **4473** 30
 πρόσ **4468** ri 20, vi 3, [5?] **4474** 1, 5
 προστιθέναί **4473** 26
 πρόσωπον **4468** vi 3 **4477** passim
 πῶρ **4469** 39

σαντοῦ **4468** vi 18
 σελήνη **4476** ↓ 4, → 16 **4477** passim
 σήμερον **4468** ri 6, 28, ii [7?]
 σίτος **4471** 3
 σκεπάζειν **4469** 33
 σκολιός [**4468** vi 24?]
 Σκορπίος **4473** 11
 σκότος **4468** ri 4, 24
 σμάραγδος **4468** ri 32
 σπέρμα **4471** 10, 14–15
 σπεύδειν **4468** ri 5
 σπῆρος **4471** 7
 στεῖρᾶδος **4476** → 3
 στερεός **4476** ↓ 16
 στήλη **4468** vi ii 15
 στράτευμα **4471** 19
 στρέφειν **4468** ri 30
 εὐ **4468** ri 5, 7, 8 (*bis*), 9, 10, 11 (*bis*), 12, 13, 14
 (*bis*), 15 (*ter*), 16, 17, 21, 22?, 24 (*bis*), 33, vi
 19 **4469** 33?, 34
 συμπληροῦν **4474** 2–3
 εὐνοδος **4472** 2 **4473** 23
 Σύρος **4471** 17
 σχηματογραφία **4476** → 14
 Σωδὶς **4472** 9

ταράσσειν **4472** 22
 παραχῆ **4472** 18
 Ταῦρος **4471** 6 **4473** 1 **4476** ↓ 15
 ταῦρος **4468** ri 14
 τάφος **4468** ri 33
 ταχύ **4468** ri 6 **4469** 22–23 (*ter*), 24–25 (*ter*), 35
 (*ter*), 42 (*ter*)
 ταχύς **4476** ↓ 11
 τε **4468** vi 21 **4474** 4
 τελεῖν **4468** vi 26, ii 10 **4476** → 10, 13
 τέλειος **4468** vi [26], ii 10
 τέλος **4473** 21
 τέσσαρες **4468** ri 36

πετρόπιος **4468** ri 9, 14
 τιθέναί **4468** vi ii 5
 τιμωρία **4471** 3
 τις **4468** vi ii 6? **4471** 9, 16
 τιτάνιος **4468** ri 25
 Τοξότης **4473** 13
 τράγος **4468** ri 9
 τριακιστός **4473** 25
 τρύγωνον **4477** passim
 τροπή **4474** 4
 τροπικός **4476** → 16

ύγεια (**4469** 41?)
 ύγρός [**4468** ri 21]
 ύδατόδης **4476** → 18
 Ύδροχόος **4473** 17
 ύδωρ **4471** 14
 υἱός **4468** vi 7
 ύπνος **4468** vi 22
 ύπνωτικός **4468** vi ii 15
 ύπό **4468** ri 20? **4472** 20 **4476** ↓ 12
 ύποκείτω **4468** ri 35
 ύψαύχηρ **4476** ↓ 10

Φάγρων πόλις **4468** ri 29
 φαίνειν **4468** ri 23
 φέρειν **4473** passim
 Φερσεφόνη **4468** vi 26
 φιλόλογος **4476** → 5
 φιλόμομος **4476** → 6
 φλόξ **4469** 39
 φαῖνιξ **4468** ri 10, 31
 φρόνιμος **4476** → 9
 φυλακτήριον **4468** vi ii 20
 φύσις **4476** → 11
 φωναστικός **4476** → 2
 φωνή **4469** 38
 φώς **4468** ri 22 **4469** 41–43

χάρις **4468** vi 3, 10
 χαριτήσιον **4468** vi 16
 χαριτοδότρια **4468** vi 8
 χεῖν **4468** vi 14
 χρηματίζω **4472** 8
 χρημασιτικός **4476** → 14
 χριεῖν **4468** vi 15

χρώμα **4468** ri 5
 χώρα **4471** 8, 11, 18

ἄδε **4468** vi ii 9?
 ἄμος **4468** vi ii 21
 ἄρα **4477** 1
 ἄροσκόπος **4476** → 17
 ἄς **4468** ri ii 21?, vi 24 (*bis*), 25, ii 9 **4473** 22,
 28 **4474** 2
 ἄσρε **4468** ri ii 21?

Magical words and names

Αδωναι **4469** 40
 αμα **4468** vi ii 24
 ανακ **4468** vi ii 23
 ara arrarara **4468** vi ii 17

βαβραι **4468** vi 8
 Βολχοσηθ **4468** vi ii 16, 18

δαμαλ **4468** vi ii 18

Ελωε **4469** 40
 ερεοβαζαγρα **4468** vi 9
 ερηχι **4468** vi ii 17

Ιαναι **4468** vi ii 2
 Ιαω **4469** 39–40

μουσαι **4468** vi 9

νε[**4468** vi ii 2
 ναναι **4468** vi 21

Παταθ **4468** vi ii 16

ραλλ[**4468** vi ii 24

Саβρωθ **4469** 40
 Сηθ **4468** vi ii 16, 18 (*bis*)

Coptic

ΑΝΔΚ **4468** vi ii 23
 ΑΝΚ **4468** vi ii 24
 ΜΑΝ **4468** vi ii 25 (*bis*)?
 ΝΤΑϚ **4468** vi ii 25
 ΩΗΡε **4469** 22, 24

III. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS

VESPASIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Οὐεσπασιανὸς Σεβαστός (year 7)
4478 14–15, 19–20

MARCUS AURELIUS AND COMMODUS

Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος καὶ Κόμμοδος οἱ κύριοι
Αὐτοκράτορες (year 18) **4481** 6
Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος
καὶ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Σεβαστοὶ
Ἀρμενιακοὶ Μηδικοὶ Παρθικοὶ Γερμανικοὶ

Σαρματικοὶ Μέγιστοι (year 19) **4479** 18–24 **4481**
13–14 (opt. Σαρματικοί)
Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος
καὶ Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Σεβαστοὶ (oath
formula) **4479** 13–17

COMMODUS

Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβαστός (year
21) **4482** 9–11, 43–44
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος

Ἀντωνῖνος Σεβαστός Ἀρμενιακὸς Μηδικὸς Παρθικὸς
Σαρματικὸς Γερμανικὸς Μέγιστος (year 22) **4482**
22–27

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN AUGUSTI, CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS CAESARS

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορες Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ
Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ καὶ οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν
Κωνσταντίος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι
Καίσαρες (year 13, 12 and 5) **4489** 16–19

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανὸς καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοὶ
καὶ οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίος καὶ Μαξιμιανὸς οἱ
ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες (year 15, 14 and 7)
4490 1–9

GALERIUS, SEVERUS, MAXIMINUS AND CONSTANTINE

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Μαξιμιανὸς καὶ Σευήρος Σεβαστοὶ καὶ
Μαξιμῖνος καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι
Καίσαρες (year 15, 3, and 1) **4491** 25–28

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Αὐτοκράτορες Μαξιμιανὸς καὶ Σευήρος
Σεβαστοὶ καὶ Μαξιμῖνος καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος οἱ
ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες (oath formula) **4491** 15–19

IV. CONSULS

AD 297 ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν *Αὐτοκράτορος*
Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε' καὶ *Μαξιμιανὸς τοῦ*
ἐπιφανέστατου Καίσαρος τὸ β' **4489** 1–2

AD 311 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν *Γαλερίου*
Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμιανὸς Σεβαστοῦ τὸ η' καὶ *Γαλερίου*
Οὐαλερίου Μαξιμῖνος Σεβαστοῦ τὸ β' **4480** 1–3

AD 307 ἐπὶ ὑπάτων τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν *Σευήρος*
Σεβαστοῦ καὶ Μαξιμῖνου ἐπιφανέστατου Καίσαρος
4491 1–3

V. MONTHS

Ἐπεὶφ **4490** 9

Παχών **4484** 5 **4491** 29

Θωθ **4483** 9

Φαμενῶθ **4480** 17 **4481** 12, 14, 17

Μεσορή **4489** 19

Μεχεῖρ **4479** 25 **4482** 28, 42

Χοιάκ **4478** 21

VI. DATES

15 December 74 **4478** 18 21
22 January 179 **4479** 18–25
11 March 179 **4481** 12, 17
9–11 September 194(?) **4483** 9–10

5 August 297 **4489** 15–19
22(?) July 299 **4490** 1–9
9 May 307 **4491** 25–29
26 February 311 **4480** 17

VII. PERSONAL NAMES

Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων see *Αὐρήλιος Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων*
Αἰμίλιος see *Κοῖντος Αἰμίλιος Κατουρνῖνος*
Ἄμμων see *Αὐρήλιος Ἄμμων*
Ἄμμωνίος f. of Aurelia Eirene **4480** 7
Ἄμμωνίος see *Αὐρήλιος Ἄμμωνίος*
Ἄμμις alias Dionysius, s. of Diogenes and Isarous
4479 1
Ἀντωνῖνος see *Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος*
Ἀντωνῖνος see Index III s.v. Marcus Aurelius and
Commodus
Ἄπτων ἐπικαλούμενος *Πανσεῖριων* h. of Ta- alias
Sarapous **4481** 2, 11, 14, 19
Ἀπολλοφάνης, city scribe **4478** 1
Ἀπόλλων **4481** 25
Ἀπολλωνία alias(?) Asclatarion **4488** 19
Ἄρτοκρατίων **4481** 29
Ἄρτεμιδωρος **4493** 6
Ἄρρω- **4482** 51
Ἀσκατάριον see *Ἀπολλωνία* alias(?) Asclatarion
Ἰσκληπιάδης s. of Ptolemaeus **4482** 17
Ἰσκληπιάδης former high priest **4482** 31
Αὐρηλία Εἰρήνη d. of Ammonius, w. of Isidorus **4480**
7, 18 (*Ἰρήνη*)
Αὐρηλία Ἐλένη d. of Horion and Thermouthion, w.
of Aurelius Silvanus, m. of Aurelius Ammon **4489**
5, 20
Αὐρήλιος see Index III s.v. Marcus Aurelius and
Commodus
Αὐρήλιος Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων royal scribe of the
Oxyrhynchite nome **4488** 1
Αὐρήλιος Ἄμμων s. of Aurelius Silvanus and Aurelia
Helene **4489** 10
Αὐρήλιος Ἄμμωνίος τὴν perfectissimum, praefectus Aegypti
4492 1
Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος τὴν egregius, procurator **4488** 7–8
Αὐρήλιος Βηθάμμων systates, s. of Chaeremon **4480** 4
Αὐρήλιος Διογένης alias Eulogius, cx-magistrate, dike
supervisor **4492** 2
Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος alias Heraclides, strategus(?) of
the Proposite **4487** 1, 9
Αὐρήλιος Διόσκορος alias Helladius,
(cx-?)gymnasiarch, councillor, prytanis **4491** 4
Αὐρήλιος Εὐδαίμων s. of Dios **4480** 18–19

Αὐρήλιος Κυβανός s. of Besammon and Isis, h. of
Aurelia Helene, f. of Aurelius Ammon **4489** 9
Αὐρήλιος Τιμόθεος s. of Sarapiades **4491** 7
Αὐρήλιος Τισόεις **4487** 11
Αὐρήλιος Ἐθρίων systates, s. of Theon **4489** 3
Βηθάμμων h. of Isis, f. of Aurelius Silvanus **4489** 9
Βηθάμμων see *Αὐρήλιος Βηθάμμων*
Γαλέριος see Index IV s.v. AD 311
Δάμμιος f. of Heraclammon **4490** 15
Διογένης, city scribe **4478** 1, 18
Διογένης h. of Isarous, f. of Amois alias Dionysius
4479 2
Διογένης see *Αὐρήλιος Διογένης* alias Eulogius
Διοκλητιανός see Index III s.v. Diocletian and
Maximian Augusti, Constantius and Galerius
Caesars
Διονύσιος see *Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος* alias Heraclides
Διονύσιος see also *Ἄμμις* alias Dionysius
Διονυσόδωρος **4493** 15
Διος f. of Aurelius Eudammon **4480** 19
Διόσκορος see *Αὐρήλιος Διόσκορος* alias Helladius
Εἰρήνη see *Αὐρηλία Εἰρήνη*
Ἐλένη see *Αὐρηλία Ἐλένη*
Ἐλευκίνιος **4488** 4
Ἐλλάδιος see *Αὐρήλιος Διόσκορος* alias Helladius
Ἐρμῆς f. of Hermes **4486** 6
Ἐρμιογένης s. of Paulus **4485** 2
Ἐσίης sitologist, s. of Puspipsemis **4482** 4
Ἐσίης secretary **4482** 33
Εὐδαίμων see *Αὐρήλιος Εὐδαίμων*
Εὐθυκλής see Index VIII(c)
Εὐδόγιος see *Αὐρήλιος Διογένης* alias Eulogius
Εὐπύχης alias Psiathas, slave **4479** 4
Ἦλις **4483** 1
Ἦρα- **4482** 62
Ἡρακλ- f. of Nech- **4482** 59?
Ἡρακλάμων donkey-driver, s. of Didymus **4490** 15
Ἡρακλῆς **4484** 2, 12
Ἡρακλεῖδης see *Αὐρήλιος Διονύσιος* alias Heraclides

Ἡρακλείδης **4493** 1 2
 Ἡράδης s. of Sarapion **4481** 30
 Θασίαι **4482** 57 **4493** 1, 24
 Θεμιοῦθιον w. of Horion, m. of Aurelia Helene **4489** 5
 Θέων s. of Nicion, f. of Nicias **4478** 3, 6
 Θέων f. of Aurelius Horion **4489** 3
 Ἰέραξ f. of Isidorus **4480** 9, 22
 Ἰρήνη see *Ἀβρήλια Εἰρήνη*
 Ἰσαροῦς w. of Diogenes, m. of Amois alias Dionysius **4479** 3
 Ἰεῖωρος s. of Hierax, h. of Aurelia Eirene **4480** 8, 22
 Ἰεῖωρος **4488** 25
 Ἰεῖω w. of Besammon, m. of Aurelius Silvanus **4489** 10
 Καλπούριος Κογκέκος *uir egregius*, epistrategus **4484** 3, 11
 Κάριος **4483** 1
 Κέλαος **4486** 6
 Κέφαλος donkey-driver **4486** 2
 Κογκέκος see *Καλπούριος Κογκέκος*
 Κοῦντος Αἰμίλιος Κατουρνίος *praefectus Aegypti* [**4484** 1]
 Κοῦμοδος see Index III s.v. Marcus Aurelius and Commodus
 Κωνσταντῖνος see Index III s.v. Galerius and Severus Augusti, Maximinus and Constantinus Caesars
 Κωνσταντῖος see Index III s.v. Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, Constantius and Galerius Caesars
 Λούκιος see Index III s.v. Marcus Aurelius and Commodus
 Λυκαρίων ex-magistrate of Cynopolis **4492** 5
 Μάγνος see *Τίτος Πακτουμήσιος Μάγνος*
 Μακρίνος see *Οδευτήριος Μακρίνος*
 Μαξιμιανός see Index III s.vv. Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, Constantius and Galerius Caesars; Galerius and Severus Augusti, Maximinus and Constantinus Caesars; Index IV s.vv. ad 297, 311
 Μαξιμίνος see Index III s.v. Galerius and Severus Augusti, Maximinus and Constantinus Caesars; Index IV s.v. ad 307, 311
 Μαξιμῖος -lius Maximus **4482** 16–17
 Μαξιμῖος see *Πουπύλλιος Μάξιμῖος*
 Μάρκος see Index III s.v. Marcus Aurelius and Commodus
 Μουντανιανός see *Νεμέσιος* alias Munatianus
 Μάρκος **4493** 18
 Νείκων see Index VIII(c)
 Νεμέσιος alias Munatianus **4482** 48–9

Νεχ- s. of Heracl- **4482** 59?
 Νικίας s. of Theon, gd.-s. of Nicion **4478** 3
 Νικίων f. of Theon, gd.-f. of Nicias **4478** 6
 Ὀννώφρις s. of Teos **4488** 15–16?
 Οὔδαλες see *Φλάουτιος Οὔδαλες*
 Οὐδαλέριος see Index IV s.v. ad 311
 Οδευτῆσιανός see Index III s.v. Vespasian
 Οδευτήριος Μακρίνος *uir clarissimus, praefectus Aegypti* **4482** 14, 46
 Πακτουμήσιος see *Τίτος Πακτουμήσιος Μάγνος*
 Παῦλος f. of Hermogenes **4485** 2
 Πανσερίων see *Ἀπίων ἐπικαλούμενος Πανσερίων*
 Πανσερίων f. of Horion **4485** 3
 Πετθ- f. of Phanupis **4482** 55?
 Πλουτάρχος **4485** 4
 Πουπύλλιος Μάξιμος strategus of the Busirite nome **4482** 2, 38
 Πουσιπύλλιος f. of Hesias **4482** 4–5
 Πτολ() alias x **4479** 26
 Πτολεμαῖος f. of Asclepiades **4482** 18
 Πτολεμαῖος phrontistes **4482** 53
 Πτολεμαῖος receiver of corn dues **4482** 40
 Σαρατιάδης f. of Aurelius Timotheus **4491** 7
 Σαραπίων exegetes **4486** 4, 7–8
 Σαραπίων f. of Herodes **4481** 30
 Σαραποῦς Ta- alias Sarapouos, w. of Apion surnamed Pausirion **4481** 3, 20
 Κατουρνίος see *Κοῦντος Αἰμίλιος Κατουρνίος*
 Σεουήρος see Index III s.v. Galerius and Severus Augusti, Maximinus and Constantinus Caesars; Index IV s.v. ad 307
 Σιλβανός see *Ἀβρήλιος Σιλβανός*
 Συν- c **4481** 26?
 Τεῶς f. of ?Onnophris **4488** 16
 Τιμόθεος see *Ἀβρήλιος Τιμόθεος*
 Τισέεις see *Ἀβρήλιος Τισέεις*
 Τίτος Πακτουμήσιος Μάγνος *praefectus Aegypti* **4481** 1, [15–16], 18
 Φανωπίς s. of ?Petth- **4482** 55
 Φλάουτιος Οὔδαλες *uir egregius*, epistrategus **4481** 8
 Χαιρήμων f. of Aurelius Besammon **4480** 4
 Ψιαθᾶς see *Εὐδύχη* alias Psiathas
 Ὠρίων h. of Thermouthion, f. of Aurelia Helene **4489** 5
 Ὠρίων pastry-cook **4493** 24
 Ὠρίων s. of Pausirion **4485** 3
 Ὠρίων see also *Ἀβρήλιος Ὠρίων*

VIII. GEOGRAPHICAL

(a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, TOPARCHIES, CITIES, ETC.

Ἀγῆντος **4484** 1 **4492** 1
 Ἀλεξάνδρεια **4480** 10
 Βουσιρίτης **4482** 3, 39

Κυνοπολιτικός **4492** 3
 Κυνοπολιτῶν πόλις **4492** 5

Ἀθασ- **4482** 50

Ἰέλιος Τρύφανος **4485** 1

Νεκτεν- (χάριον) **4482** 54

ἄμφοδον **4478** 7 **4479** 6 **4489** 7

γυμνάσιον **4481** 16 **4489** 11

Εὐθυκλέους (κλήρος) **4488** 14

μονή **4492** 8

θεῖς **4493** 5

Ὀξυρυγχίτης (νομός) **4488** 2
 Ὀξυρυγγιτῶν πόλις **4480** 5–6 **4489** 3–4 **4491** 6 **4492** 2
 Ὀξυρυγγίων πόλις **4478** 1–2, 4 **4479** 2 **4481** 2, 19 **4484** 2, 12

Προσωπῆτης **4487** [2], 10

Ῥωμαῖος **4489** 15

(b) VILLAGES, ETC.

Τακόνα **4486** 1 **4492** 8
 Ταυερείου **4482** 52, 61?
 Τυχωφάγων **4486** 5

Ψέβτα **4482** 36, 41, 65
 Ψυνοφόμου **4482** 5–6

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

Νείκωνος (κλήρος?) **4488** 15

Πλατείας (ἄμφοδον) **4479** 6
 Ποιμενικής (ἄμφοδον) **4489** 7–8

Τεγμενοῦθεας (ἄμφοδοι) **4478** 7–8

IX. RELIGION

X. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

ἀρχέφοδος **4485** 1 **4486** 1, 5
 ἀρχιερατεῦεν **4482** 31–32

βασιλικὸς γραμματεὶς **4488** 2
 βουλευτής **4491** 5
 βουλή **4492** 6

γραμματεὶς **4482** 34
 γραμματεὶς Ὀξυρυγγίων πόλεως **4478** 1
 γραμματεὶς πρακτόρων σιτικῶν **4484** 4, 15
 γραμματεὶς see also *Βασιλικὸς γ.*
 γυμνασιαρχ(-) **4491** 4

διασημάτος **4490** 13–14 **4491** 12 **4492** 1

ἐξηγητής **4486** 4, 8
 ἐπαρχος Αἰγύπτου **4484** 1 **4492** 1
 ἐπισπράττης **4481** 9, 12, 17 **4484** 10, [11]

ἡγεμονία **4492** 4
 ἡγεμῶν **4481** 1, 8, 16, 18 **4482** 15–16, 47–48 **4490** 14 **4492** 3

κράτιςτος **4481** [8], 12, 17 **4484** [11] **4488** 9

λαμπρότατος **4481** 1, 16, 18 **4482** 15, 47
 λογιστής **4493** 12, 19

μάγιστρος τῆς πριουάντης **4491** 12 13

πρακτορεία **4482** (50, 52, 54, 60, 61, 63, 65)
 πράκτωρ εἰσικῶν **4484** 4, 15
 πριουάντα **4491** 13
 πρίστανις **4491** 5

εἰτολογία **4482** 36
 εἰτολόγος **4482** 5, 35

XI. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS

*ἄθηρὰς **4480** 22
 ἄρτοκόπος **4493** 13–14

*ἐπιγάτης **4493** 18

κλιβανεύς **4493** 24

εἰστοπαράλημπτῆς **4482** 40 41
 στρατηγός **4481** 10 **4482** 2, 39 **4487** [2?], [9?]
 εὐσεβήτης **4480** 5 **4489** 3

ταμίειον **4484** [8?]

ἄδροφύλαξ **4492** 6
 ὑπατεία **4480** 17 *see also* Index IV

χωματεπέεστῆς **4492** 2

ὀνηλάτης **4486** 3 **4490** 16
 ὀνομάζων **4491** 10

χειριστής **4480** 9, (22) **4493** 18

XII. MEASURES

(a) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

ἔρουρα **4488** [(17, 18)], (21, 22, 24)

ἀρτάβη **4482** 18, (20, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59)

(b) MONEY

δραχμή **4490** 16, (18)

XIII. TAXES

ἐπικεφάλαιον **4480** 14 **4490** 10

εὐναγοραστικός **4482** 12, 45

XIV. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS

ἄβροχος **4488** 11, (17, 22, 24, 26)
 ἀγνοία **4480** 15
 ἀδελφή **4493** 17
 *ἄθηρὰς *see* Index XI
 αἶρετις **4492** 6?
 ἀκόλουθος **4490** 12
 ἀληθής **4478** 16
 ἄμα **4492** 5, 7
 ἀμελεῖν **4493** 5, 8, 15
 ἄμφοδον *see* Index VIII (c)
 ἄν **4492** 5
 ἀναγράφειν **4478** 10 **4479** 5 6, 9–10 **4489** 7
 ἀναδέχεσθαι **4481** 9

ἀναπέμπειν **4481** 15
 ἀνήρ **4480** 8 **4481** 5,6 **4482** 41 **4489** 3
 ἀνείναι **4492** 11
 ἀντιγράφειν **4481** 12, 17
 ἀντίγραφον **4481** [15]
 ἀντιδικία **4481** 9
 ἀξιοῖν **4478** 10 **4479** 9 **4489** 12
 ἀπέχειν **4493** 8
 ἀπό **4478** 4 **4479** 2 **4480** 7 **4481** 2, 4, 19, [22]
4482 8, 42 **4484** 2, 12 **4488** 17, 21 **4489** 5,
 10, 11 **4491** 7
 ἀπογράφειν **4478** 6–7 **4488** 10
 ἀποδιδόναι **4493** (24)

ἀπολαμβάνειν **4481** 11
 ἀπολείπειν **4492** 12
 ἀποστέλλειν **4491** 11
 ἀποφέρειν **4481** 8
 ἀργύριον **4490** 16
 ἄρουρα *see* Index XII(a)
 ἀρτάβη *see* Index XII(a)
 ἀρτοκόπος *see* Index XI
 ἄρχαι **4492** 2, 5
 ἀρχεφόδος *see* Index X
 ἀρχιερατεύειν *see* Index X
 ἀσπάζεσθαι **4493** 16
 αὐθαρέτως **4487** 5, 13
 αὐτῆς **4481** 8
 αὐτός (same) **4480** 8 **4481** 9 **4484** 7 **4488** 23
4489 6, 10 **4491** 8, 9, 14 **4492** 5
 αὐτός (he, she, it) **4479** 10 **4480** 19 **4481** 3, 4, 8,
 10, 20, [21] **4489** 12, 21 **4491** 20 **4493** 6, 9,
 13, 20, 22
 ἀφήλις **4489** 13
 ἀφέναι **4493** 9
 ἄχρι **4493** 22

βάλλειν **4493** 19
 βασιλικός *see* Index X
 βιβλίον **4481** 9, 12, 15
 βιβλίον **4480** 14(bis) **4481** 4, 22
 βίος **4480** 11
 βούλεσθαι **4489** 6–7
 βουλευτής *see* Index X
 βουλή *see* Index X

γάρ **4481** 5, 6
 γένημα **4482** 8, 43
 γῆ **4485** 4
 γίνεσθαι **4480** 9–10 **4489** 8(bis) **4492** 10
 γίνεσθαι **4482** 20 **4483** 8–9 **4490** (18)
 γράμμα **4480** 20 **4489** [22] **4493** 14
 γραμματεὺς *see* Index X
 γράφειν **4480** 19 **4481** 10 **4482** 21 **4489** 21
 γραφή **4489** 13
 γυμνασίαρχος *see* Index X
 γυμνάσιον *see* Index VIII(c)
 γυνή **4481** 2, 5, [19]

δέ **4484** 11 **4491** 22 **4492** 12
 δεῖσθαι **4481** 10
 δεόντως **4491** 8
 δεσπόσῃς *see* Index IV s.v. AD 311
 δῆθεν **4491** 13
 δημόσιος **4485** 4 **4492** 11?
 διά **4480** 13 **4481** 9 **4482** (17), 48? **4488** [4?]
4489 13 **4492** 8, 11, 12, 13
 διάγωνις **4481** 9, 10

διαγράφειν **4490** 9 10
 διακρίσις **4482** 19
 διαλέπειν **4492** 4
 διακρίματος *see* Index X
 δίδοναι **4493** 13, 14
 διεξέρχεσθαι **4492** 9
 διέρχεται **4478** 9 **4481** 6
 διεντυχεῖν **4481** 11 **4483** 12
 δικαιοδοσία **4481** 5, [22]
 δίκαιον **4489** 6
 δῆμοιρον **4488** (22)
 διό **4478** 9 **4479** 8 **4489** 12
 διπλός **4481** 16
 διστός **4482** 21
 δῖχα **4492** 12
 δοκεῖν **4481** 10
 δούλος **4479** 4
 δραχμή *see* Index XII(b)
 δύνασθαι **4481** 11
 δύο **4491** 11
 δωδεκάδραχμος **4489** (11)

ἐάν **4481** 5, 10 **4493** 8, 10
 ἔβδομος **4478** 18
 ἐγνώσθαι **4487** [6], 13
 ἐγχειρίζειν **4492** 3
 ἐγώ **4478** 5 **4479** 4 **4481** 2, 19 **4489** 8, 9 **4491** 9,
 14 **4492** 7 **4493** 1, 13, 14, 17, 18 *see also*
s.v. ἡμεῖς
 ἔθιμος **4489** 15
 εἰ **4491** 22 **4493** 13, 14
 εἰδέναι **4480** 20 **4489** [22]
 εἶναι **4478** 16 **4481** 5, 11 **4483** 8, 9 **4484** 11
4489 11 **4491** 23
 εἰς **4479** 10 **4488** [15?], 19, 23, 25
 εἰσφέρειν **4482** 13–14
 ἐκ **4484** 9 **4488** [13, 22] **4489** 8 **4492** 6 **4493**
 21–22
 ἕκαστος **4493** 3–4
 ἐκγράφειν **4481** 14–15
 ἐκεῖ **4483** 9(bis)
 ἐκούσιως **4487** [5, 12]
 ἐκφορεῖν **4481** 7
 εἶλαιον **4493** 16
 ἐλάσσωσις **4480** 21
 ἐλαττοῦν **4480** 12–13
 ἐμαντῶ **4481** 12 **4492** 13
 ἐμφάνεια **4487** 6, 14
 ἐμβολαίειν **4484** 7
 ἐν **4478** 11 **4480** 10 **4481** 3, 4, 5, [6, 7, 16, 20],
 21 **4483** 11 **4489** 14 **4492** 4
 ἐναρχος **4486** 4, 8 **4491** 5
 ἐνδομενία **4481** 4, [21]
 ἐνιστάται **4489** 4, 11 **4490** 11

ἐνεσκαυδέκατος **4481** 13
 ἐνοχλεῖν **4493** 5 6
 ἐνοχος **4491** 23
 ἐντέλλειν **4493** 6
 ἐντολικόν **4483** 3 4
 ἐντυγχάνειν **4481** 8, 12, [17] **4485** 3–4 **4486** 3, 7 **4493** 12–13
 ζεακόσιοι **4490** 17
 ζέξηγητης *see* Index X
 ζέξιστορεῖν **4481** 9
 ζέω **4493** 20
 εὐροτή **4493** 9
 ἐπαναγκάζειν **4481** 10
 ἔπαρχος *see* Index X
 ἐπει **4484** 6 **4492** 7
 ἐπειδή **4491** 8
 ἐπειθεῖν **4492** 3
 ἐπί **4478** 7, 12 **4479** 6 **4481** 4(*bis*), 8, [21], 22 **4482** 7 **4489** 1, 7 **4491** 1
 ἐπιδιδόναί **4479** 8, 26 **4480** 13, 15, 18 **4481** 11–12 **4489** 12, 20
 ἐπικαλεῖν **4481** 2, 14, 19
 ἐπικεφάλαιον *see* Index XIII
 ἐπίπεδος **4481** 16
 ἐπίσκεψθαι **4489** 9–10
 ἐπίσταται **4481** 5
 ἐπιστράτηγος *see* Index X
 ἐπιτρέπειν **4492** 13
 ἐπιφανέστατος *see* Index III s.vv. Diocletian and Maximian, Constantius and Galerius; Galerius and Severus, Maximinus and Constantine; Index IV s.vv. ad 297, 307
 ἔρχεσθαι **4493** 22
 ἔτι **4479** 7 **4481** 2, [19]
 ἔτος **4478** 9 **4481** 13 **4490** 1, 11
 (ἔτος) **4478** 18 **4479** 18 **4481** 6, 12, 17 **4482** 8, 22, 42, 43, [68?] **4484** 5 **4489** 4, 11, 15, 17 **4491** 25
 εὐεργετεῖν **4481** 11
 εὐτρεπίειν **4492** 9
 εὐχεσθαι **4493** 23
 ἔχειν **4479** 27 **4488** 11 **4492** 4
 *ἔψατης *see* Index XI
 ἔως **4492** 5
 ἡγεμονία *see* Index X
 ἡγεμών *see* Index X
 ἡμεῖς **4480** 1 **4488** 18, [21?] **4489** 1, 16, 17 **4490** 2, 6 **4491** 1, 16, 25
 ἡμέρα **4492** [4?] **4493** 4, 9, 10
 ἡμέτερος **4480** 8
 ἡμεῖς (4482 53, 56?) **4488** 18
 θεῖος **4491** 23
 θεός *see* Index IX

ἴδιος **4481** 11
 ἱεράτατος **4484** 8?
 ἱμάτιον **4481** 4, [21]
 ἴνα **4481** 11
 καθήκειν **4479** 11–12 **4489** 14
 καθιστάναί **4492** 7
 καθώς **4493** 7
 κῆν **4481** 6
 κατά **4482** 41 **4488** 7, 17–18, 21 **4491** 15 **4493** 3
 καταλαμβάνειν **4491** 22
 καταφεύγειν **4481** 4–5, [22]
 καταχωρίζειν **4489** 13
 κελύειν **4481** 10 **4482** 13, 45 **4484** 9 **4488** 7 **4490** 12–13 **4492** 7
 κῆνδονος **4491** 24
 κληρονόμος **4488** 25
 κλήρος **4488** 15(?), 23 *see also* Index VIII(c)
 κλιβανεύς *see* Index XI
 κράτιστος *see* Index X
 κύριος (guardian) **4489** 6
 κύριος (lord, lady) **4481** 2, [4], 5, 8, 19, [22] **4492** [3?] **4493** 1, 4 *see also* Index III, IV
 κώμη **4482** 8, 41, (52?) **4487** 3–4?
 λαμπρός **4480** 5(*bis*), 10 **4489** 3(*bis*) **4491** 5(*bis*) *see also* Index X
 λέγειν **4493** 7
 λογιστής *see* Index X
 λόγος **4484** 8
 μάγιστρος *see* Index X
 μάλλον **4481** 5
 μανθάνειν **4493** 10
 μαρτύρεσθαι **4481** 14
 μέγας **4483** 5
 μέρας **4488** 18, 22
 μετά **4481** 7 **4492** 4, 11
 μεταλλάσσειν **4480** 11 **4481** 6 **4489** 8
 μετέρχεσθαι **4491** 9, 13–14
 μέτοχος **4482** 5
 μετρεῖν **4482** 6, 42
 μέχρι **4483** 10
 μή **4479** 17 **4480** 20 **4489** 15, 21 **4493** 5, 7, 9, 15, 21
 μήδε **4491** 21–22
 μηδείς **4493** 10
 μηδενώποτε **4491** 21
 μήτηρ **4479** 2 **4489** 5, 9 **4493** 1
 μιμνήσκων **4483** 3
 μονάρταβος **4488** (17, 21, 24, 26)
 μονή *see* Index VIII(c)

νομός **4481** 10 **4487** 4–5, 12
 νόσος **4480** 11
 νύκτωρ **4492** 4
 ὄδε **4480** 14 **4487** 4, 12
 ὄθεν **4484** 14
 οικονομία **4481** 4, [22]
 οἶκος **4481** 5
 ὀμήλικος **4489** 14
 ὀμνῶν **4478** 13 **4479** 12 **4489** 14, 20 **4491** 15
 ὄμοιος **4478** 13 **4479** 11
 ὀμολογεῖν **4487** [5], 12 **4491** 15
 ὀηλάτης *see* Index XI
 ὄνομα **4480** 12 **4481** 3, 7, 7–8, [20] **4482** (16, 51, 53, 62)
 ὀνομάζων *see* Index XI
 ὄνος **4491** 11
 ὄπας **4481** 10
 ὄρκος **4489** 15, 20 **4491** 23
 ὄρνιθιον **4493** 21
 ὄς **4481** 4, [21] **4492** 10
 ὄσος **4481** 5
 ὅτι **4481** 5 **4493** 7(*bis*), 11, 13, 15
 οὐ **4481** 7 **4491** 8 **4492** 4, 13 **4493** 11
 οὐν **4481** 9 **4484** 6 **4493** 5, 11, 21
 ὄστος **4478** 11 **4479** 27 **4480** 12 **4481** 3, 7, 8, 9, [20] **4482** 21 **4483** 11 **4491** 15, 24 **4492** 13
 παιδοποιία **4481** 6
 παλαι **4479** 7 **4481** 2, [19]
 πάλιν **4483** 9–10
 παρά **4478** 3 **4479** 1 **4480** 7 **4481** 2, 3, 19, 20 **4482** 4, 40 **4487** [3], 11 **4488** 3 **4489** 5 **4493** 4, 24
 παραδιδόναί **4492** 7
 παρῆναι **4481** 10
 πᾶς **4481** 7 **4492** 6
 πατήρ **4478** 5 **4488** 5
 πειράσθαι **4481** 8
 πέμπειν **4485** 2 **4486** 2, 6
 περί **4483** 3 **4485** 4 **4491** 10, 23 **4493** 16
 περιγραφή **4484** 13
 περιελάσθαι **4481** 5
 πλείστος **4483** 2 **4493** 2
 πλεονεκτεῖν **4481** 8
 ποιῶν **4481** 4, [22] **4491** 21, 22 **4493** 3
 πόλις **4480** 8 **4489** 6, 10 **4491** 8, 9 *see also* Index VIII(a) s.vv. Κωνσταντινῶν π., Ὁξυρυγχιστῶν π., Ὁξυρίγγων π.
 πόλις **4481** 3, 5, 7, 8, 9 **4492** 11 **4493** 23
 πονηρία **4484** 14
 πρακτορεία *see* Index X
 πράκτωρ *see* Index X
 προιόντα *see* Index X

προγράφη **4478** 16 17
 προκείσθαι **4480** 17 **4481** 11 **4482** 7 **4489** 21
 πρόσ **4480** 15 **4481** 3, 20 **4488** 9 **4489** 11 **4491** 12 **4493** 12, 14, 17
 προαντιβάλλειν **4481** 15
 προσκύνημα **4493** 3
 προτιθέναι **4481** 16
 πρώτους *see* Index X
 πρώτος **4489** 7 **4493** 8
 πυρός **4482** 18, (20, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59)
 πωλεῖν **4493** 21
 σελήνη **4483** 7–8
 σμαίνειν **4478** 5
 σημειῶν **4478** 18 **4482** 33
 σιτικός **4484** 4, [15]
 σιτολογία *see* Index X
 σιτολόγος *see* Index X
 σιτοσπαρλήπιπτης *see* Index X
 σκεπός **4481** 4, 21
 σκούφιλον **4483** 4
 σός **4492** 12
 σταθμός **4489** 7
 στέρνον **4492** 4
 στός **4481** [16]
 στρατηγός *see* Index X
 σός **4480** 13 **4481** 4, 5, 10, 11, [22] **4483** 7, 12 **4489** 13 **4493** 3, 7, 11, 22
 συλλαμβάνειν **4481** 11
 συμβάλλειν **4483** 7, 11
 συμβίωσις **4481** 3, 20
 εὖν **4488** 14
 συναγοραστικός *see* Index XIII
 συνεπέγειν **4492** 7
 συνέρχεσθαι **4481** 2, 19
 συνεχῆς **4492** 8
 συντάσσειν **4481** 12
 συνωνεῖσθαι **4482** 46
 εὐστασις **4491** 10
 συντάτης *see* Index X
 σφραγίζειν **4481** 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30
 ταμίειον *see* Index X
 τάξις **4479** 11 **4489** 14
 τάσσειν **4489** 12
 ταχύτης **4492** 11
 τε **4481** 4, 21 **4492** 4, 6
 τέκνον **4489** 6
 τέλειος **4479** 5
 τελευτῶν **4478** 8, 11–12 **4479** 7
 τέχνη **4480** 9 **4491** 14, 20
 τιμώτατος **4483** 1–2
 τις **4481** 2, 3, 7, [19, 20]
 τοῖ **4492** 13

INDEXES

ταῖνον **4492** 7
 Τοξότης **4483** 8
 τρεῖς **4483** 5
 τριάκοντα **4482** 19
 τυγχάνειν **4481** 10 **4492** 8
 τύχη **4479** 17 **4491** 20

ὄδροφύλαξ *see* Index X
 υἷας **4489** 10 **4493** 2
 ὑπάγειν **4493** 11–12, 17, 19
 ὑπατία **4480** 17 *see also* Index IV s.v. AD 311
 ὑπατος *see* Index IV s.vv. AD 297, 307
 ὑπέρ **4480** 12, 19 **4482** (45, 49, 61, 63) **4489**
 21 **4490** 10
 ὑπηρετεῖν **4493** 20
 ὑπό **4480** 10, 13 **4481** 8, 15 **4482** 14, 46 **4489**
 13 **4490** 13
 ὑπογράφειν **4481** 15
 ὑπόμνημα **4479** 8–9 **4489** 12
 ὑποτάσσειν **4484** 6?
 ὑποτιμᾶν **4480** 15–16
 ὑστερον **4491** 22

φίλος **4483** 7, 11–12
 φόβος **4492** 4, 12
 φροντίζεν **4493** 11
 φροντιστής **4482** 53

χαίρειν **4483** 2 **4493** 2
 χειριστής *see* Index XI
 χίλιοι **4490** 17
 χρηματίζειν **4488** 6 **4489** 6
 χρόνος **4481** 3, 7, 20 **4493** (23)
 χρόσιον **4481** 4, [21]
 χῶμα **4492** 3, 12
 χιωματεπείκτης *see* Index X
 χωρίον **4482** 54
 χωρίς **4489** 6

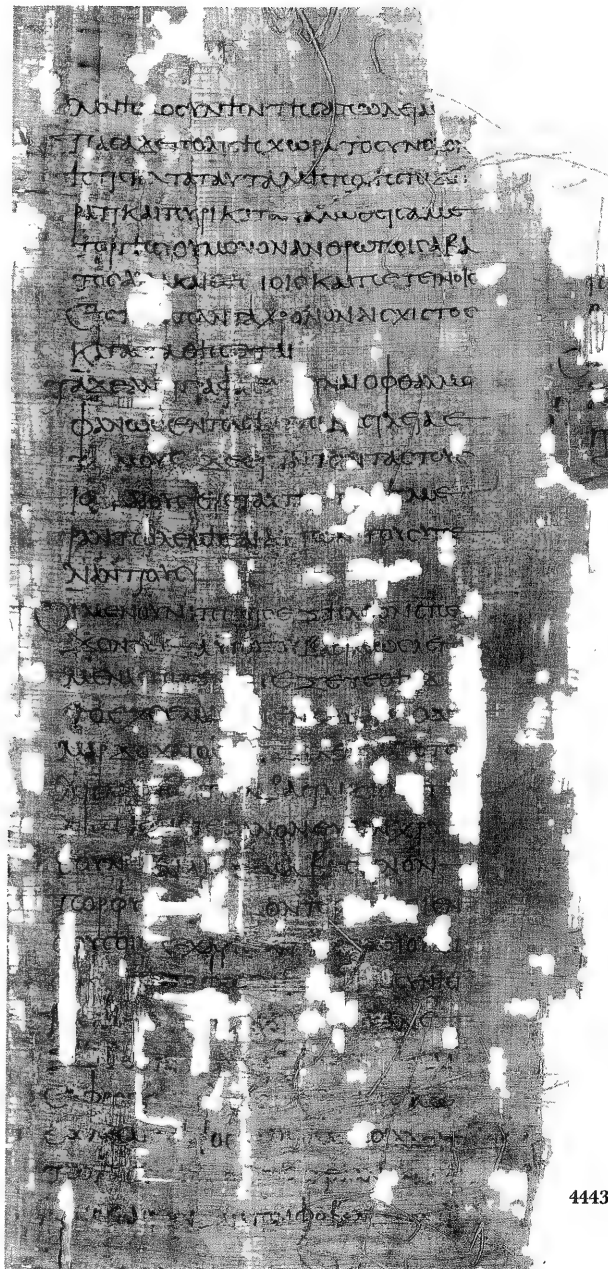
ψευδεσθαι **4479** 18 **4489** 15

ᾠνεῖσθαι **4481** 3, 7, [20]
 ὦρα **4483** (8, 10)
 ὥς **4478** 12 **4479** 11 **4488** 6 **4489** 14, 21 **4491**
 10, 13

XV. CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED TEXTS

BGU XI 2061 **4481** introd., 14–15 n.
 P.Mich.III 204.4–6 **4493** 17–18 n.
 VIII 1142 9–10 **4493** 24 n.
 X 1299 15 ff. **4493** 17–18 n.
 XLI 2989 **4489** 5 n.

XLIV 3192 **4491**
 XLIX 3510 **4478** introd.
 SB XVI 12678.35–7 **4481** 12 n.
 SB XVIII 13244.16, 21 **4479** 5 n.



4443 part

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ
 ΕΙΗΣΦΑΛΙΣΑΤΟ
 ΙΟΝΟΚΣ
 ΠΤΗΝΕΣΟΥΘΕΝΗ
 ΡΩΝΙ ΔΥΤΟΥΣΝΕΟΚΣ
 ΚΓΕΛΛ...

ΚΑΠΙΣΑΚ Τ' ΟΦΗΟΤΑΕΡ
 ΠΗΤΙΘΟΙΑ ΟΙΑ ΖΗΛΟ
 ΚΑ ΣΟΙΟ ΟΝΕΝΤΗΚΕΡ
 ΤΑΚΑΚΑΔΟΥΤΙΚΗ ΤΕΛΑ
 ΗΘΗΑΟ ΡΚΕ...

ΕΝΕΡΗΤΗΗ
 ΟΥΣ...

4444
 Ν' ΑΗΕ
 ΕΤΟΘΡΙΑΝ
 ΕΣΤΗΙΕΡΑΙΕ
 ΙΤΗΝΙΘΑ
 ΒΕΝΗΤΗΝ
 ΕΤΟΥΤΟΕΤΑ
 ΠΕΡΑΝΤΗΝ
 ΑΓΕΝΑΥΤΗΝ
 ΑΟΥ...



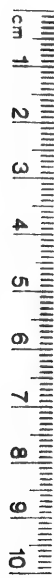
4449

4442

ΠΟΛΕΙΤΑΙ
 ΕΛΕΥΘΗΡΙΟΙΣ
 ΓΙΟΜΩΔΑΜΑΤΗΜ
 ΑΥΤΩΝΑΕΙΛΟ
 ΚΥΡΣΕΙΩΣΕΙΑ
 ΣΕΝΑΕΚΤΑΑΝ
 ΜΗ
 ΤΟΤ
 ΟΥΑ
 ΚΑΤΑ

444

ΕΙΣΤΟ ΑΙΘΟΡΑΙ ΑΥΤΗΡΑΤΗ
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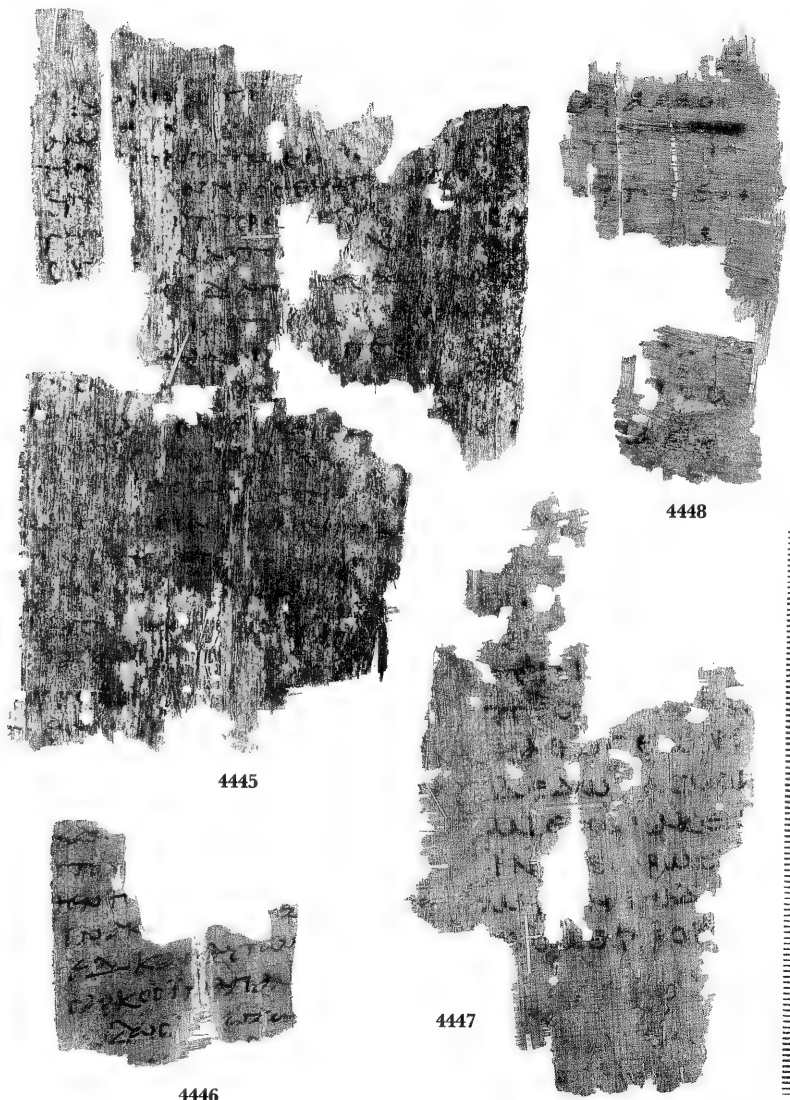


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 ΕΙΣΤΟ ΑΙΘΟΡΑΙ ΑΥΤΗΡΑΤΗ
 ΕΙΣΚΑΤΗΦΩΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΝΑ

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4448



Fragment of papyrus with faint Greek text.

4451

Main fragment of papyrus with multiple columns of Greek text, showing signs of damage and wear.

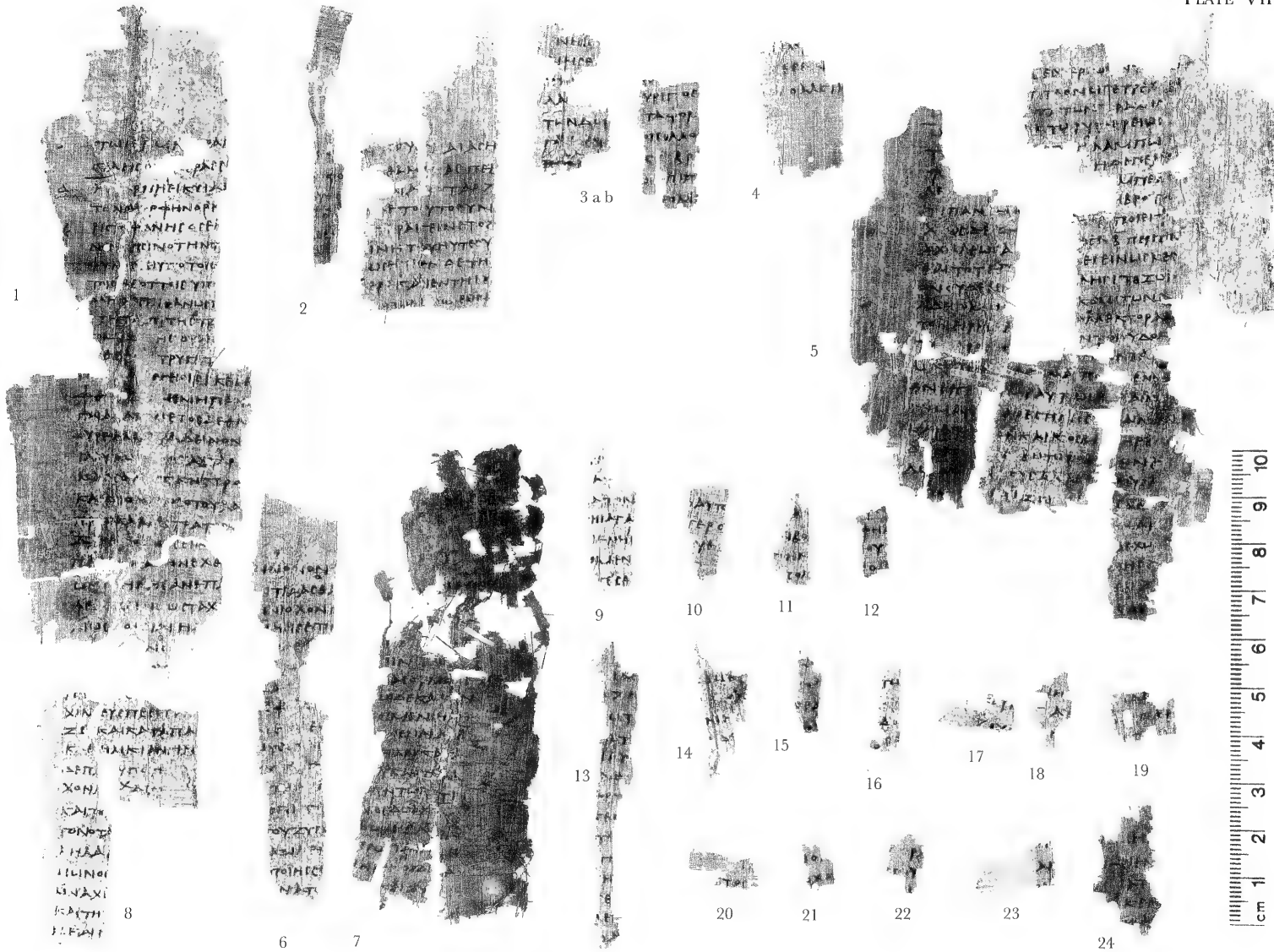


Fragment of papyrus with Greek text, positioned to the right of the main fragment.

Fragment of papyrus with Greek text, located at the bottom left of the plate.

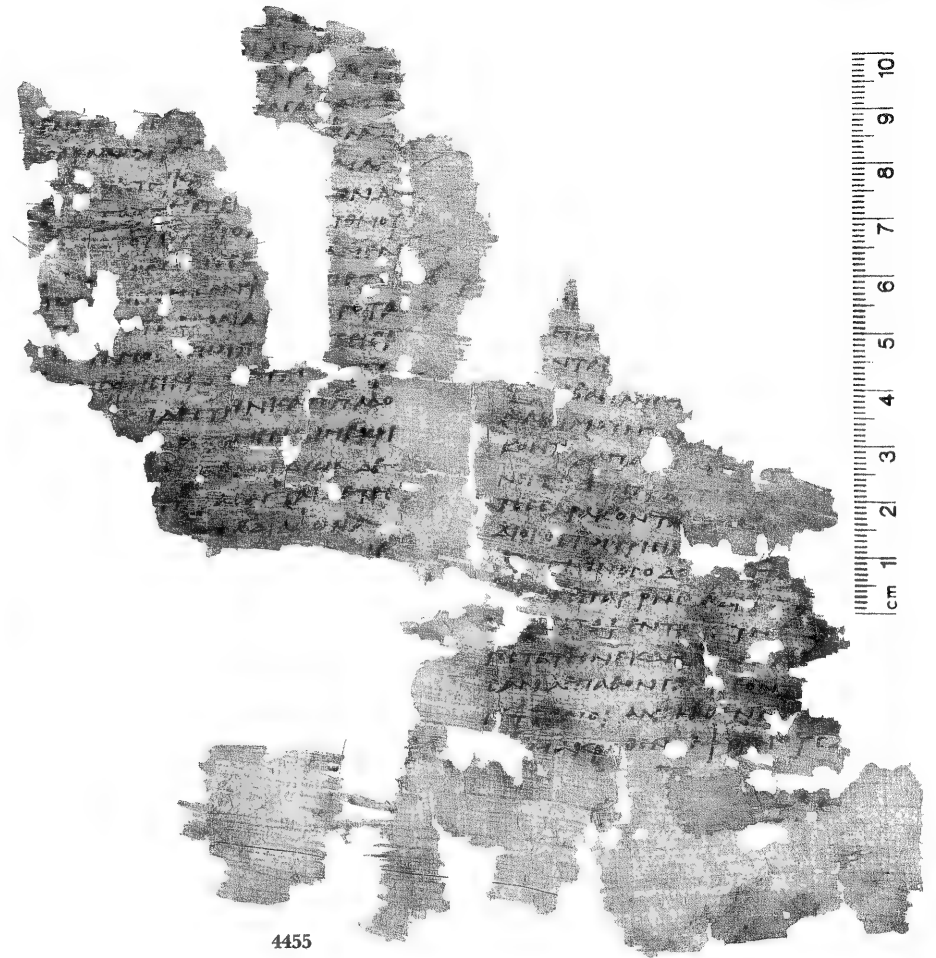
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4454



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 100 No. 94
 100 No. 95
 100 No. 96
 100 No. 97
 100 No. 98
 100 No. 99
 100 No. 100

4459





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cm

fr.1

fr.2

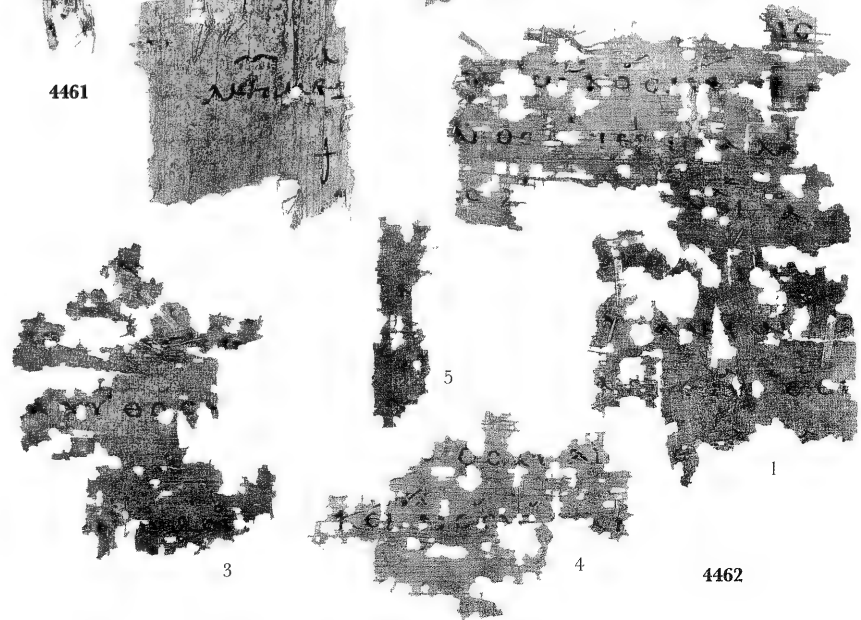
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4461



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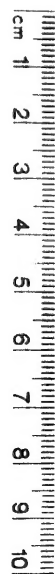
4

5

4462

Fragment of papyrus with Greek text, showing several lines of writing. The text is partially obscured by damage and is difficult to decipher. Some legible characters include "ΜΗ", "Ζ", "Κ", "Α", "Β", "Γ", "Δ", "Ε", "Ζ", "Η", "Θ", "Ι", "Κ", "Λ", "Μ", "Ν", "Ξ", "Ο", "Π", "Ρ", "Σ", "Τ", "Υ", "Φ", "Χ", "Ψ", "Ω", "Α", "Β", "Γ", "Δ", "Ε", "Ζ", "Η", "Θ", "Ι", "Κ", "Λ", "Μ", "Ν", "Ξ", "Ο", "Π", "Ρ", "Σ", "Τ", "Υ", "Φ", "Χ", "Ψ", "Ω".

4466



Fragment of papyrus with Greek text, showing several lines of writing. The text is partially obscured by damage and is difficult to decipher. Some legible characters include "Α", "Β", "Γ", "Δ", "Ε", "Ζ", "Η", "Θ", "Ι", "Κ", "Λ", "Μ", "Ν", "Ξ", "Ο", "Π", "Ρ", "Σ", "Τ", "Υ", "Φ", "Χ", "Ψ", "Ω".

4467

Fragment of papyrus with Greek text, showing several lines of writing. The text is heavily damaged and difficult to decipher. Some legible characters include "Α", "Β", "Γ", "Δ", "Ε", "Ζ", "Η", "Θ", "Ι", "Κ", "Λ", "Μ", "Ν", "Ξ", "Ο", "Π", "Ρ", "Σ", "Τ", "Υ", "Φ", "Χ", "Ψ", "Ω".

4469

Hieroglyphs and cursive script on a papyrus-bundle fragment. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal columns. The script is dense and appears to be a form of ancient Egyptian or Coptic. The fragment is heavily damaged, with significant portions missing, particularly in the center and right-hand side.

4468



1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.
 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20.
 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30.
 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40.
 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50.
 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60.
 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70.
 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80.
 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90.
 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

4468



Fragmentary papyrus scroll with Greek text. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines across the fragment. The characters are in an ancient Greek script, likely from the Hellenistic or Roman period. The fragment is heavily damaged, with significant portions missing, particularly at the top and bottom edges.



4473 part